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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Senate Works on INF Treaty Vote 'Compromise' 1
Expected To Ratify *[PRAVDA 26 May]* 1
INF Treaty Ratification 'Barometer' of Relations 1
Bogachev: SDI Breaches 1972 ABM Treaty 2
Warsaw Pact, NATO Hold Meeting 25 May 2
Delegation Visits British Chemical Arms Facility *[TRUD 25 May]* 2
Tours Research Center *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 3
Physicians Call for End to Nuclear Explosions 4

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

NATO Military Groups Hold Spring Sessions 5
Defense Burden Sharing Debated 5
U.S. Claims 'Opposed' 5
Gromyko on Worldwide Response to Restructuring 6
ILO Director Visits Moscow, Meets With Gladkiy *[IZVESTIYA 24 May]* 6
AUCCTU Delegation Leaves for ILO Conference *[TRUD 24 May]* 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Reagan Continues Preparations for Moscow Summit 7
Interview With Asian Press 7
Interview With Western Press 7
Departs Washington 7
Arrives in Finland 8
Weekly Presents 'Political Portrait' of Reagan
[Simonov in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 25 May] 8
Petrovskiy Briefing on Upcoming Moscow Summit 12
Notes 'Positive Elements' 12
Assesses U.S.-Soviet Ties 13
Scores Talk With 'Refusniks' 13
U.S. Ambassador Comments on Summit Hopes 14
Senate INF 'Delaying Tactics' Reported *[PRAVDA 25 May]* 14
'Has Time' Before Summit *[IZVESTIYA 25 May]* 14
Primakov Interviewed on U.S.-Soviet Relations *[Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU 20 May]* 15
Moscow To Broadcast U.S. Radio Program 17
U.S. Trying To Destabilize Nicaraguan Government 18
Commentator Scores Reagan Nicaragua Statement *[Chigir]* 18
U.S. Efforts To Oust Panama's Noriega Fail 19
'Expert Task Force' Report on 'Limited' SDI 19
U.S. Admiral's View of Naval Threat Criticized
[Gerasimov in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 24 May] 20
Scientists Write Reagan on Visa Refusals 21

China

Cultural, Technological Cooperation Reported 21
Joint Venture Restaurant Contract Signed *[IZVESTIYA 23 May]* 22

Northeast Asia

DPRK Olympic Games Protest Noted *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 25 May]* 22
DPRK Table Tennis Coach Criticizes Japan 22
Mongolian Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 24 May]* 23

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Briefs Press on Regional Issues 23
Cites Summit Agenda 23
Comments on Afghanistan, Pakistan 23
Lizichev Remarks 24
Further on Withdrawal *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 May]* 26
Youth Paper Report *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 26 May]* 27
Akhromeyev Gives Figures on Afghan Contingent 27
Afghan Pullout Staged Under 'Complex' Conditions *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 25 May]* .. 27
Rebel Shelling Continues in Jaji Meydan 28
Situation at 'Crucial' Afghan Outpost Described 28
Former Afghan Refugees Recount Experiences *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 May]* 29
Afghanistan's Wakil Stops Over Before Cuban Trip 30
Al-Qadhdhafi Recognizes Habre Government 30
Ryzhkov Greets Soviet-Indian Conference *[PRAVDA 24 May]* 30
Meeting Opens *[PRAVDA 24 May]* 30

Sub-Saharan Africa

Activities Mark 25th Anniversary of OAU 31
Demichev Addresses Meeting *[PRAVDA 25 May]* 31
Ryuytel Leads Delegation *[PRAVDA 24 May]* 32
Zambian President Views International Issues *[PRAVDA 24 May]* 32

East Europe

MSZMP Conference, Leadership 'Renewal' Viewed *[PRAVDA 25 May]* 33
Resolution Summarized *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 25 May]* 34
Accomplishments Detailed *[PRAVDA 23 May]* 35
Sejm Session Opens, Focuses on Reform's Problems 37
Jaruzelski on New Powers Bringing 'Vitality' 37
CPCZ Presidium Considers Economy's Shortcomings *[PRAVDA 21 May]* 38

West Europe

EEC Foreign Ministers Approve Declaration 38
Shevardnadze Receives UK Envoy, Thatcher Message 38
Britain's Defense 'White Paper' Assessed *[IZVESTIYA 23 May]* 39
More on Latvian Delegation's Visit to Sweden 40
Group Returns to Moscow *[PRAVDA 24 May]* 40
Leading Economists To Study 'Swedish Model' *[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 21 May]* 40
Fishery Firm Established With Sweden *[IZVESTIYA 24 May]* 41
Role of 'Fisheries Research' Airplane Questioned *[Oslo AFTENPOSTEN 20 May]* 41
Deutsche Mark Loan 'Seriously' Considered *[Hamburg DPA]* 42
Loan Expected 'Soon' *[Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT 24 May]* 42
FRG Communist Environmental Group Pays Visit *[PRAVDA 24 May]* 42
French Communist Leader Cited on June Election *[PRAVDA 23 May]* 42
Shalayev Receives Portuguese Union Officials *[TRUD 24 May]* 43
Lobov, Delegation Continue Visit to Turkey 43
Meet With Defense Minister *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 May]* 43
Return to Moscow *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 May]* 43
Communique With Cypriot Communists Highlighted *[PRAVDA 23 May]* 43
Briefs 44
Soviet-Italian Business Group 44

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Further on Supreme Soviet Proceedings 45
First Day Summarized *[IZVESTIYA 25 May]* 45
Soviet of Union Meets *[IZVESTIYA 25 May]* 46
Cooperative Law Debate 46
Batalin Speaks on Housing 47
Zaykov Addresses Moscow Planning Meeting *[IZVESTIYA 23 May]* 57
Azerbaijan Party, Government Appeal Published *[Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 18 May]* 57
Report on 'Nationalist League' Ridiculed *[PRAVDA 21 May]* 58
Paper Examines Demands of Crimean Tatars *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 21 May]* 58
Party Committees Manipulate Delegate Elections *[PRAVDA 21 May]* 61
Suggestions To Improve Work of Village Soviets *[PRAVDA 28 Apr]* 61
Burlatskiy on Party Conference, 'Conservatives' *[Paris LE FIGARO 20 May]* 63
Careerists Within Party Assailed *[PRAVDA 21 May]* 64
UK 'Panorama' Program Examines Restructuring *[London BBC TV]* 65
PRAVDA Reviews Documentary on Stalin Era *[17 May]* 67
Facsimile Edition of MOSCOW NEWS Launched 69

Economic

News Conference Held on 'Radical' Reform 69
Ivanov Cites Trade Plans 69

Agricultural

Media Report 19-25 May Agricultural Developments 70
Spring Crop Progress, Summer Plans Noted 70

Military

Gromyko Congratulates Awards Recipients *[PRAVDA 23 May]* 71
Murakhovskiy Attends Delegate Election Plenum *[TRUD 22 May]* 72
Alma-Ata Hospital To Treat War Casualties *[TRUD 22 May]* 72
Yefimov, Others Sign Yumashev's Obituary *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 May]* 72

Senate Works on INF Treaty Vote 'Compromise'

LD2605093288 Moscow TASS in English 0829 GMT 27 May 88

[Text] Washington May 26 TASS—Republican and Democratic leaders at the U.S. Senate are working on a compromise agreement providing for the vote on the Soviet-American INF Treaty to be held in the upper chamber of U.S. Congress on Friday. On Wednesday, the Senate Republican Minority leader Robert Dole, the Senate Democratic Majority leader Robert Byrd and other influential legislators held a series of meetings. They considered the question of ending the debates on the text of the treaty and beginning the discussion on the draft resolution on ratification.

The need of such consultations arose since a group of conservative-minded senators were delaying in every way the discussion of the treaty and advanced all sorts of "emendments" in order to complicate or frustrate its ratification.

Expected To Ratify

PM2605113188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by own correspondent V. Gan: "A Reassuring Development. U.S. Senate Debate on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles"]

[Text] Washington, 25 May—Journalists daily gauging the temperature of the Senate debate on the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have noted a sharp rise today. In a rather unusual and impressive display of unity, the Democrat and Republican leaders in the upper house of the U.S. Congress submitted a joint resolution to "cut off" the debate on the ratification of the Soviet-American agreement.

Anyway, it was an unexpected step. Only yesterday, R. Byrd and R. Dole, leaders of the rival parties in the Senate, were obviously pessimistic about the chances of a vote on the treaty by the time of the Moscow summit. Delaying and obstructionist tactics—filibustering, as it is aptly called here—enabled those opposed to the destruction of missiles to put a brake on the debate, although all the "killer-amendments" they put forward were rejected by the vast majority of legislators. Since it is reckoned in principle that the treaty will get enough votes for Senate "advice and consent" to ratification, it all hinged on the problem of when. As both Reagan administration spokesmen and the Senate leadership pointed out, what is on the agenda is the question of the political prestige of the United States and of the President himself, who has been forced, in planning his visit, to consider the possibility that, through the fault of the U.S. side, the meeting participants might not be able to exchange official documents ratifying the historic agreement.

To all appearances, today, on the eve of Reagan's departure from Washington, it was decided to bring massive pressure to bear on the obstinate opposition. In the morning, the President held a conference at the White House with leading members of the Senate, after which it was announced that a concerted effort would be made to resolve the procedural impasse. Later, Reagan invited the "filibusters" themselves—Senators Helms, Humphrey, McClure, and Symms—for a talk and, according to White House spokesmen, urged them to stop blocking the completion of work on approving the treaty. Then Helms visited Byrd and Dole to discuss "the possibility of a compromise."

The latter, however, is now hardly of great importance. Even if Helms and his cronies continue in their obstinate efforts to delay the voting, the resolution submitted by the Senate leadership will be put to a vote on Thursday. Byrd has no doubt that it will get the requisite backing of 60 senators and, as a result, the debate will be limited to a maximum of 30 hours. According to White House spokesman M. Fitzwater, the Democrats' leader told the president that "in all likelihood" the treaty would be approved by Friday.

In connection with this development, White House Chief of Staff H. Baker is delaying his departure from Washington until Saturday and will fly straight to Moscow with the requisite ratification documents.

At the beginning of this report, I said that concerted efforts by the Democrats and Republicans in the Senate were rather unusual. That is true. But it is not hard to see why—neither party wants to be considered responsible for hindering, let alone wrecking the treaty. After all, there is an election on the way and the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has the support of the vast majority of Americans. In many respects, this fact explains everything.

INF Treaty Ratification 'Barometer' of Relations

LD2505175188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1649 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow, 25 May (TASS)—The ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles can be considered as a kind of barometer reading, testifying to the state of relations between the USSR and the United States, said Viktor Karpov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs' directorate on problems of limiting weapons and disarmement, today.

"For a long time this barometer has indicated 'overcast', and even worse. Judge for yourselves: Since 1972 the U.S. side has not ratified even one agreement with the USSR which would affect the limitation or reduction of armaments," he said in an interview to TASS diplomatic correspondent Vadim Biryukov. "Thus, the 1979 SALT II treaty was not ratified and neither were the 1974 treaty on limiting underground nuclear explosions and the

1976 treaty on peaceful nuclear explosions. We hope that at last there will now be a breakthrough and that this abnormal tendency in Soviet-U.S. relations will disappear."

The USSR is attentively following the discussion of the INF Treaty in the U.S. Senate. "It seems that the majority of senators are in favor of ratifying the treaty. And it is difficult to imagine that the senators should come to any other decision, taking into account that all U.S. opinion polls show that the overwhelming majority of the American people support the treaty and are in favor of the ratification of this document as soon as possible."

"I hope that ratification of the treaty in the U.S. will take place in the very near future," Viktor Karpov went on to say. "If this happens then it is possible that an exchange of instruments of ratification could take place during U.S. President Ronald Reagan's visit to Moscow. The Soviet side is in favor of such a course of events. And there is no doubt at all about the ratification of the INF Treaty by the USSR. It will not delay this historic act."

Bogachev: SDI Breaches 1972 ABM Treaty

LD2505205388 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

Pentagon experts who have compiled a report on "Star Wars" have acknowledged that most "Strategic Defense Initiative" steps will breech the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty of 1972.

The declassified part of the report issued in Washington said that only the first two phases of SDI—the deployment of 100 fixed ground-based interceptors and the orbiting of a new generation of space surveillance systems—are allowed under the treaty.

The experts voiced the assumption that the third step—the emplacement of interceptors to protect Washington—"may be achievable within the treaty depending on the characteristics of the systems deployed."

They added that subsequent deployment steps (additional bases and interceptors over and above the treaty limits, the addition of space-based interceptors and ultimately space-based and ground-based directed energy weapons) "would require renegotiation of or withdrawal from the treaty."

The Pentagon experts did not at all intend to enter into polemics with Washington's pettyfogging lawyers that have come up with the far-fetched, biased "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty.

That kind of "interpretation" aimed, among other things, to "prove" that the U.S. development of exotic space-based weapons systems did not run counter to the treaty.

The Pentagon experts assigned to draw up the report were simply guided by purely technical considerations. They expressed concern that "varying interpretations of the constraints imposed by the ABM Treaty lead to confusion in the testing process".

This is why they read the treaty for the most part as signed in 1972.

And that is the right thing to do.

It ought to be recalled that at the Washington summit last December the U.S. President signed a joint Soviet-U.S. statement binding both sides "to observe the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, while conducting their research, development, and testing as required, which are permitted by the ABM Treaty."

This has not prevented the U.S. Administration, however, from pressing along with its "Star Wars" program which is simply incompatible with the ABM Treaty.

Isn't it time that Washington began showing a more responsible attitude to its commitments?

Warsaw Pact, NATO Hold Meeting 25 May

LD2505151688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0920 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Vienna, 25 May (TASS)—The latest meeting within the framework of consultations between representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO participant states to work out a mandate for future talks on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, took place here today.

Delegation Visits British Chemical Arms Facility

PM2605083588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 May 88 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Burmistenko dispatch: "Glasnost on Military Matters"]

[Text] Porton Down, 24 May—A 3-day visit by a delegation of Soviet experts to the British chemical warfare facility at Porton Down began today. A delegation of British experts will pay a return visit to the Soviet chemical warfare facility at Shikhany in a month's time.

Welcoming the Soviet guests, the facility's director, G. Pearson, stated that this exchange of visits is designed to strengthen confidence in the context of the talks at the Geneva Disarmament Conference with the aim of achieving an all-embracing and complete ban on chemical weapons.

The Porton Down chemical warfare facility is one of the UK Defense Ministry's five leading non-nuclear research centers. It occupies an area of around 7,000 acres in Wiltshire in southwest England. The Soviet experts' visit to Porton Down has aroused tremendous interest among the British mass media. On the 1st day, a review of the development of chemical weapons since World War II was arranged for the Soviet delegation members, and there was a demonstration of means of individual protection and instruments for detecting and neutralizing war gases.

Your correspondent asked Major General R.F. Razuvanov, member of the Soviet delegation and chief of the Shikhany chemical warfare facility, for his impressions of the exchange of visits.

"We have come to Porton Down to get to know the British specialists and to see for ourselves their desire and practical efforts to secure the earliest conclusion of a convention on the complete and universal banning and destruction of chemical weapons," R.F. Razuvanov said. "We hope that during the meeting and exchange of opinions with the British experts, primarily on scientific, technical, and military aspects, we shall achieve greater mutual understanding, which will ultimately help the earliest conclusion of a convention.

"During the British experts' return visit, we propose to familiarize them with the Shikhany military installation's main areas of work and its structure as well as with practical questions connected with the destruction of chemical weapons.

"This exchange of visits to the British and Soviet chemical warfare facilities is unprecedented," Maj Gen R.F. Razuvanov stated. "It can be regarded as an example of the new thinking in the military sphere."

Tours Research Center

LD2405110188 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1034 GMT 24 May 88

[By Charles Miller, PRESS ASSOCIATION defence correspondent]

[Text] A high-powered team of 13 chemical warfare experts from the Soviet Union today saw the British Army's reaction to nerve gas attack in the latset glasnost move of reciprocal informatory visits between East and West.

The Soviets watched closely as troops from the 2nd Battalion the Royal Green Jackets—the demonstration battalion for the school of infantry—responded to a nerve gas alarm.

As the battlefield warning went off in the simultation at the top-secret Porton Down research establishment, the men ripped off their helmets and pulled gas masks over their faces, screaming: "Gas, gas, gas."

The significance of the demonstration lies perhaps in the fact that Britain stopped manufacturing chemical weapons in the 1950s while the Soviets possess the biggest stocks of chemical weapons in the world estimated at around 50,000 tons.

Porton Down is concerned purely with research into protection for the Armed Forces against such weapons.

During the display, various pieces of kit, including chemical agent monitors and a nerve agent alarm, were handed round for close examination.

The 45-minute action ended with a demonstration of how a Scoprion armoured combat vehicle would be decontaminated by brush-hosing with a liquid chemical agent.

Dr. Graham Pearson, the establishment's director, welcomed the Soviets, who carried notebooks and cameras. He said: "This is really going to help towards a global ban on chemical weapons."

A British team will make a return visit to the Soviet establishment at Shikhany in July and it is the first bilateral exchange of visits between the Soviet Union and any Western European country on chemical weapons.

During the Soviets three-day visit to Porton, near Salisbury, there will be discussion on the full range of chemical weapons issues, including production, detection, protection, monitoring, decontamination, medical counter-measures and disposal.

"The visit is extremely significant and shows that glasnost is starting to happen," said Dr Pearson.

"It is very important that we achieve a full exchange of data to foster confidence towards a verifiable and comprehensive global ban on chemical weapons.

"And we see this is an important opportunity to build up confidence between the Soviet Union and the UK."

But he stressed that although the Soviets would be shown much of the research work being carried out at Porton, national security would not be put at risk.

"We will be as free and open as we can without jeopardising national security."

Dr Pearson's views were backed by Miss Tessa Solesby, the British ambassador to the conference on disarmament in Geneva, which is looking at ways of achieving a worldwide chemical weapons ban.

"It is very important for our negotiations in Geneva that we have more information about what kind of chemical weapons exist," she said.

"We hope this exchange of visits will encourage countries to be more open and frank about their chemical weapons stocks."

Shortly after their arrival the Soviet team, led by their ambassador to the Geneva conference, Yuriy Nazarkin, scrutinised a display of chemical and biological defence equipment and clothing by British troops.

And in an aside, Ambassador Nazarkin said: "I hope this will facilitate the disarmament process in Geneva."

The effectiveness of the British response to chemical attack will be studied well—as the troops displayed the equipment, several of the Soviet delegation took photographs while others scribbled notes.

But the outing had its lighter moments—Major General Robert Razunov, commander of the Shikhany establishment, happily tried on a gas mask for the benefit of press photographers.

And Mr Viktor Orlik, editor of Soviet weekly [as received], an important Communist Party post, was keen to rationalise the Soviets' retention of chemical weaponry.

"Anyone would be made to use chemical weapons, therefore all these weapons are for defensive purposes," he said.

The Soviet delegation is due to visit research and trial units and a new facility to destroy old chemical weapons agents. It will also be shown round the microbiological research establishment run by the Department of Health and the Defence Nuclear Biological and Chemical Centre.

Physicians Call for End to Nuclear Explosions
LD2505202188 Moscow TASS in English 1250 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The Soviet committee Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War issued a statement in support of a broad campaign launched since the beginning of this year by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War to conclude an agreement on a comprehensive end to nuclear explosions, the campaign that has been named "Ceasefire-88." Despite progress in nuclear arms limitation, nuclear explosions continue at U.S. and Soviet proving grounds, the document says. This cannot but cause concern of Soviet medics who declare for complete and early elimination of nuclear arms which pose the most horrible danger to life and health of the globe's population.

Noting the fact that the USSR and the USA work out more perfect measures of monitoring nuclear testing, the Soviet committee Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War calls for an early implementation of the aim set—a complete end to testing.

Prior to the Eighth Congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, to open in Montreal on June 3, Soviet physicians, who are consistently for a moratorium on nuclear explosions declare in their statement that those who favour nuclear disarmament everywhere should support the campaign of the international movement of physicians.

NATO Military Groups Hold Spring Sessions

Defense Burden Sharing Debated

LD2505122288 Moscow TASS in English 1146 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Brussels May 25 TASS—A series of spring sessions of NATO's leading military bodies—the Eurogroup, the Military Committee, the Defence Planning Committee—is opening at the headquarters of the North Atlantic bloc today.

They will be devoted chiefly to a study of the question, which is a source of the greatest friction between the United States and its NATO allies: a redistribution of the military and financial burdens in NATO. This question is on the agenda of the session of the Eurogroup and the NATO Defence Planning Committee on Washington's insistence. Early in May, William Taft, U.S. first deputy secretary of defence, visited here. He told the West European partners that the U.S. Congress is not satisfied with the scope of the participation of the allies in the bloc's military and financial affairs. The U.S. Congress is frightening the partners in the alliance with the withdrawal from Western Europe of a part of the U.S. troops deployed there to make the allies appropriate more money for the military programs of the North Atlantic alliance.

Since they in Western Europe have been angered by Washington's reproaches, Lord Carrington, the NATO secretary general, who is going to retire next month, set up a working team to draw up a mandate for the study of the question of the distribution of the military and financial burdens in the functioning of the alliance in order to defuse the tensions which are close to an outbreak of a transatlantic conflict. He described that problem as the "most serious one" which the alliance will have to face in the months to come.

The defense ministers of the countries—members of the NATO Eurogroup and the member countries of the Defence Planning Committee will also discuss problems arising for the alliance in connection with the Danish parliament's resolution to prohibit the calls at the ports of Denmark of foreign ships with nuclear weapons on board, the decision of the Spanish Government to close the U.S. Air Force base in Torrijon and the refusal of the Canadian Government to further implement its committment for the deployment of a Canadian brigade in Norway within the framework of the program "for strengthening Norway's northern flank."

The spring sessions of the NATO guiding military bodies will last till May 27 this year.

U.S. Claims 'Opposed'

LD2505235388 Moscow TASS in English 2318 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Brussels May 25 TASS—TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov reports:

A one-day session of NATO Eurogroup at the level of defence ministers opened at the headquarters of the North Atlantic alliance today. A meeting of the Military Committee of NATO with the participation of chiefs of general staffs of the member-countries of the alliance and commanders of the regional allied forces of NATO opened at the same time. A session of the Military Planning Committee starts tomorrow. Defence ministers of 14 countries (without France and Iceland) will take part in it.

This series of the spring sessions of the leading military bodies of the alliance will be mainly devoted to studying the question causing the biggest contradictions between the United States and its West European allies—redistribution of military and financial burden of the participation in NATO. This item has been put on the agenda of the current meetings on Washington's demand. Washington expresses displeasure with what it regards as insignificant involvement of the allies in NATO's military and financial affairs.

These claims of Washington are opposed by Western Europe. The BELGA news agency notes that European partners in NATO are not prepared to increase their military expenditures. They emphasize that they keep the armed forces at a record level for peacetime, 3.5 million servicemen, and supply NATO with 80 per cent of military aircraft, 85 per cent of tanks and 95 per cent of cannons. It is pointed in Western Europe to large economic advantages that the United States gets from NATO: Western Europe buys from the United States twice the amount of armaments and military equipment the USA buys from the old world.

To ease the situation that is bordering on a trans-Atlantic conflict, NATO Secretary-General Lord Carrington who resigns in June set up urgently a working group to analyse the question of a proper sharing of roles, risk and responsibility among the partners in the alliance. Carrington described this problem as the most serious one the alliance will have to come up against in the months ahead.

Defence ministers are also to discuss the problems which arose in connection with a resolution of the parliament of Denmark which toughens the rules for the call at its ports of foreign naval ships which might have nuclear weapons on board, problems connected with the Spanish Government's decision to close the U.S. Air Force base at Torrejon and the Canadian Government's refusal to continue fulfiling its obligation to deploy a Canadian brigade in Norway in the framework of the program of "consolidating the Norwegian northern flank."

The spring session of the NATO leading military bodies will last till May 27, and a session of the North Atlantic Council at the level of foreign ministers will be held in Madrid in the first half of June.

Gromyko on Worldwide Response to Restructuring

LD2605085188 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Soviet President Andrey Gromyko has said there has been worldwide response to restructuring in the USSR. Speaking in the Kremlin, Andrey Gromyko noted that every foreign visitor to this country was interested in the course of restructuring. Many believe its success would be useful for the international situation as a whole. Andrey Gromyko described the 19th national party conference, due to open in Moscow at the end of next month, as a major event. The meeting is to review the 3 years of restructuring and is to map out further reforms.

ILO Director Visits Moscow, Meets With Gladkiy

PM2505084588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks Held"]

[Text] F. Blanchard, director general of the ILO—the executive organ of the International Labor Organization—has been in Moscow.

Questions of our country's ties with the ILO and of the Soviet Union's more effective participation in that organization's program activity, in technical cooperation projects, and in the holding of joint international measures were discussed during a meeting with I.I. Gladkiy, chairman of the USSR Interdepartmental Commission on ILO Affairs and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

Both sides expressed interest in the development of mutually useful contacts to exchange experience in the sphere of resolving social and labor problems. Special attention was devoted to standard-setting activity and to increasing the link between conventions and recommendations adopted by the ILO with a view to improving people's working conditions and social protection and the process of improving national labor legislation.

Meetings and talks were also held at the AUCCTU, the USSR Foreign Ministry, and the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The talks in Moscow were very substantive, F. Blanchard said at a meeting with journalists before flying out. They have opened up the way to expanding ties with the USSR and galvanizing the Soviet Union's participation in the ILO's activity. I wish to point out that restructuring in the USSR and the economic reform are creating favorable conditions for the development of cooperation.

AUCCTU Delegation Leaves for ILO Conference

PM2505101588 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "To the International Labor Organization General Conference"]

[Text] A Soviet trade union delegation led by G.I. Yanayev, secretary of the AUCCTU, left Moscow on 22 May for Geneva to take part in the 240th session of the International Labor Organization Administrative Council and the 75th session of its general conference.

United States & Canada

Reagan Continues Preparations for Moscow Summit

Interview With Asian Press

LD2605100688 Moscow TASS in English 0920 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Washington May 26 TASS—In an interview to a number of newspapers of Southeast Asia, President Ronald Reagan of the United States touched upon his previous summit meetings with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev. He said that both sides "pursued a vigorous dialogue on regional conflicts in the recent years. In addition to my own discussions with General Secretary Gorbachev," he said, "Secretary of State Shultz and our regional experts have recently had intensive exchanges with their Soviet counterparts on such topics as Afghanistan, southern Africa, the Middle East peace process, Cambodia and the Korean peninsula. I had serious discussions with Mr Gorbachev on regional issues last December and expect to follow up on them in Moscow."

The U.S. President paid tribute to the Soviet Union's decision to settle the Afghanistan situation.

Answering the question on the U.S. stand vis-a-vis the proposal of the ASEAN member states that a nuclear-free zone be established in Southeast Asia, which was supported by the Soviet Union, Reagan said that "nuclear-free zone treaties are at their best when they prevent nuclear proliferation and promote regional stability and global security." But then he noted that "in general, however, we must look with caution at the proposition that walling off a portion of the world from nuclear weapons will contribute to world peace. It could instead weaken nuclear deterrence and in doing so could," he said, "heighten rather than reduce the risk of war."

In his interview Reagan asserted that the USSR's "military posture in the region remains a major concern to United States and our friends in Asia." From the President's words it is clear that Washington has lately been making persistent efforts to prevent the development of the USSR's cooperation with the states of the Asian and Pacific region.

Interview With Western Press

LD2605120388 Moscow TASS in English 1135 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] London May 26 TASS—The London TIMES has published the partial text of President Reagan's interview with leading Western newspapers.

In his interview the U.S. President did not rule out the possibility of another Soviet-American summit before he leaves office at the end of January next year. "I won't say it's impossible," Reagan said.

He also noted that he did not think there was any way now that the START agreement would come to a signing point during the forthcoming summit. "It is a far more complex treaty than the INF Treaty that we did agree upon," President Reagan said.

"Now with ratification of that, I think that this summit will advance us further in the START discussion, and those people of ours and theirs that have been negotiating in Geneva on this will continue," Reagan went on to say.

The U.S. President hoped that the START agreement could come about while he was still in office.

Speaking about Mikhail Gorbachev, Reagan described him as being very "forthright".

"We can get into discussion where perhaps we're disagreeing quite firmly and yet there is no personal animus in that with him. ...I think that there's actually a degree of friendship between us," the President said.

Departs Washington

LD2505171188 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—President Reagan, who left Washington for Helsinki where he will stop on the way to Moscow, stressed his intention to continue exerting efforts so that further steps "in the interests of peace" could be undertaken at the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit.

"Now, as I depart on this trip to Moscow—fulfilling the agreement I made with General Secretary Gorbachev back in 1985 that we would visit each other's country—I can point to achievements we can all be proud of," President Reagan said at the White House ceremony before his departure.

Among the achievements in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue since the summit meeting in Geneva in 1985, the President named the signing of the INF Treaty which eliminates an entire class of Soviet and U.S. nuclear missiles, the Geneva accords on the settlement around Afghanistan, "progress on the main points of a treaty will cut in half our arsenals of strategic offensive nuclear weapons," new nuclear risk reduction centers, broad-ranging discussions on human rights and noticeable expansion of bilateral exchanges.

"And yet impressive as these achievements may be, they represent only a beginning," Reagan said. He noted that at the forthcoming talks in Moscow the two leaders "will be looking to the future, discuss the problems which are yet to be solved. Touching upon some of the issues, the U.S. President assured that at the Moscow meeting they "will strive to resolve the issues that still stand in the way of our agreement to cut U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive nuclear arms in half....we will continue to seek ways

to improve the verification procedures of two existing treaties on nuclear testing"—the 1976 treaty between the United States and the USSR on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and the 1974 treaty between the United States and the USSR on the limitation of underground nuclear-weapon tests—so that those treaties can be ratified.

"We have many differences—deep differences, moral differences. But we are still fellow human beings. We can still work together to keep the peace," the President said in conclusion.

Arrives in Finland

LD2505222988 Moscow TASS in English 2222 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Helsinki May 26 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan arrived here today for a visit en route to Moscow where another Soviet-American summit opens May 29. Finland's President Mauno Koivisto met him in the Finnish capital.

The forthcoming talks there are in the focus of international attention. A lively interest in them is being demonstrated by the political circles, public and mass media of Finland as well.

The U.S. President will fly out of here to Moscow in the morning on May 29.

Weekly Presents 'Political Portrait' of Reagan

PM2605080188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 88 p 14

["Political Portrait of Ronald Reagan" by APN political observer Vladimir Simonov: "The President's Two Identities"]

[Text] Sources of Magic [subhead]

He will disembark from his supermodern jetliner at Moscow Airport on Sunday. The 77-year-old Ronald Wilson Reagan will step down the ramp to begin 5 days of summit talks in Moscow. And, I think, he will thereby climb the last important height before ending his amazing 8-year career as the 40th President of the United States.

Reagan will be accompanied down that ramp by the Great Paradox.

He began his political career as a convinced and impassioned Democrat. And there he is today—the Atlas of classical American conservatism. The years of his presidency have seen an unprecedented surge in America's self-belief and quite a marked recovery in the economy. But those same years also include the "Black Monday" of 19 October, when the stock markets experienced their Chernobyl. Furthermore, the honoring of Nazi graves in Bitburg and the "Iran-contras" affair did much to diminish the luster of the halo of moral righteousness which has always shone above the presidential head.

Finally, Reagan would not be Reagan without his long-standing commitment to anticommunism. Nonetheless, it is his signature on the U.S.-Soviet treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, that historic start to genuine disarmament. God willing, and with a little help from political realism, the President may yet manage to go down in history for an even more impressive peacemaking accomplishment....

Reagan will be accompanied down the ramp by the Great Riddle.

I came up against it in the mid-eighties when, after the "victory" over Grenada and his triumphal election for a second term, the President suddenly appeared in the streets of New York—tall, athletic, with a white handkerchief in his breast pocket, as if irradiating the crowds with his optimism. And he was standing on every corner. Not just in New York, either; it seemed as if the entire country had been flooded with cardboard Reagans. Gigantic life-size color photographs. Photographers did a brisk trade in immortalizing people who wanted to be photographed shaking hands with the President.

It was a strange sensation—to stand next to a cardboard cutout in the crowd. Reagan of all people, we are told, is not a people's President. Political scientists explained long ago how he meted out drastic treatment to social aid programs and curtailed them in favor of military programs. It was no accident that fewer than 10 percent of Negroes voted for him in 1984. And yet all these forgotten people, done out of their share of presidential sympathy, crowded round the image of the man who had wronged them in the streets. You should have seen this eruption of popular—as it is called in our country—support and gratitude. A mysterious force drew passers-by to the cardboard image. Hundreds of hands patted the cardboard jacket. Some people had a few kind and friendly words to say to the President, as if he were there in person.

No matter how history may assess Ronald Reagan, I am convinced of one thing—this is a curious phenomenon of national psychology. There is no doubt that the President and ordinary Americans are tuned in to some permanent wavelength of spiritual affinity. It does not matter if Reagan makes mistakes or not, it does not matter whether, from the viewpoint of ordinary people, he acts with the wisdom of a statesman or with the imprudence of a dilettante—generally speaking, this seems to have hardly any effect on his presidential image, on his public image. Things just slide off the Teflon pan, in the simile most frequently used by journalists. The 40th presidency has presented American sociologists with a difficult question: What is leadership, what is a modern leader? Must he necessarily be a

brilliant intellectual, the supreme embodiment of competence and infallibility? Hardly. A gifted actor, master of the magic of the electronic news media? Maybe, but not just that.

When I was back in New York, I was amazed by the plethora of intimate details poured forth by the sackful onto newspaper pages and television screens. The President appeared as if naked before ordinary people. They know, for example, that Reagan's hair was 25 percent gray in 1982, and is 30 percent gray now—his barber says so. That the President's sight has been weak since childhood and he wears contact lenses. When he has to deliver a speech he wears a lens in just one eye, the one which reads the teleprompter. The other eye, without a lens, observes the audience's reaction. Both presidential ears are fitted with electronic hearing aids. Every evening Reagan "pumps iron" in the White House basement....

All this is written by serious journals. This glasnost smacks a little of keyhole-peeping. Or maybe this availability of information does indeed have some social significance? Maybe these tiny physical details nurture the somewhat defenseless, tastefully down-to-earth image of the President which so impresses many Americans? He appears to be one of the guys, almost one of the family....

Reagan himself is also interested in the sources of his own magic. Usually, when reporters seek explanations, he refers them back to the past, to his youth. "Maybe this whole thing goes back to those early days in a small town, when everyone knew that people would help whenever necessary," he said on one occasion. "There was another advantage: I studied in quite a small college and, as you know, you just can't remain an unknown in a small college...."

A small town. That is probably Tampico, and later Dixon, in the State of Illinois. It was there that the family of shoe salesman John "Jack" Reagan wandered, it was there in Tampico that God gave him Ronald, the younger of two sons. The father thought that the newborn looked like a "fat Dutchman" and he nicknamed him Dutch. The father could have thought up something more outlandish. Dutch has never forgotten what he saw at the age of 11. It was early evening, snowflakes covered the porch. His father lay across the path, feverish face in the snow, his body a dark blotch. Dutch picked up the heavy, stiff body, exerted all his strength to drag it inside the room and put it to bed....

The future President's father was an alcoholic. Tom Sawyer's childhood would appear happier in comparison. This might surprise us: We have more frequently come across opinions like the one expressed by Ralph Nader, famous defender of American consumers, in his book "Reagan's Ruling Class"—the President is one of six multimillionaires in his first administration.

That is true. But things used to be different. It was the early thirties, the Great Depression, when 17 million unemployed roamed the cities, America was singing just one song—"Buddy Can You Spare a Dime?"—and the 20-year-old Ron, only just out of college, huddled with his parents and brother in one room—the rest had to be rented out—warming his hands over the only electric fire in the house.

Tom Sawyer became a multimillionaire and President. A living example of the "American dream." Is it surprising, therefore, that at times Reagan denies the efficiency of anything that does not resemble capitalism?

The Making of a Conservative [subhead]

Reagan's world collapsed in 1949.

A world which until then had been happily contained within the Chicago radio studios where he worked as a sports commentator. The world of Hollywood limelight... At that time, in 1949, everything suddenly went dark. He collided with another player on the baseball field and seriously injured his leg, breaking it in six places. But that was a trifle. Just a short while before, he had been left by his wife, the blonde Jane Wyman, a movie star famous for her roles as the funny sharp-tongued confidante of the main heroines. She walked out, taking with her her golden Oscar figurine and the two children—8-year-old Maureen and 4-year-old Michael. To top it all, his own screen career started slowly collapsing like a punctured tire. Even though the 52 movies in which the future President had acted included some good ones: "King's Row," "Knute Rockne—All American," "Bedtime for Bonzo...." At any rate, in 1941 Reagan received more bags of fan mail from movie viewers than James Cagney, who was famous for his gangster roles.

In the early fifties Hollywood was shaken by the invasion of television, and Ronald by the realization that there was obviously no future for him in the movies. Fortunately for him, the impressive and eloquent actor with a taste for labor union affairs—by that time he had already been elected five times president of the Screen Actors Guild—was being attentively watched by the cool and calculating eye of big business.

In 1954 Reagan was asked to host the television series "General Electric Theater." This is called sponsorship. The giant concern, which manufactures electrical goods, gave money to the arts so as to improve its image in consumers' eyes and stamp its trademark on a television program. Essentially, Ronald Reagan became a television salesman. His popularity was supposed to sell vacuum cleaners and electric kettles. This period brought one of the important philosophical watersheds in his life.

Reagan found something better than selling vacuum cleaners. He started selling ideas.

The host of "General Electric Theater" peeled away from the television screen, as it were, and began to lead a separate existence, less in the business world and more in the world of politics. By that time he was always on the road: shaking workers' hands at production lines in plants, attending banquets as a movie celebrity, and—mainly—talking, talking, talking....

First about patriotism. About the high morality allegedly prevailing in Hollywood. Then... At this point Ronald Reagan's first magical transformation took place. A liberal and a Democrat who had voted four times for Roosevelt, an admirer of his policy of expanding the state's role in the economy to the benefit of ordinary Americans, an activist in the election campaigns of Democrat Senators Hubert Humphrey in 1948 and Helen Douglas in 1950, he suddenly started saying things which made the newspapers dub him straight away "an eminent conservative speaker." He no longer castigated the corporations for parsimony and insensitivity toward people's needs but "the cruel, inordinately overgrown government."

"General Electric" raised Reagan's salary from $125,000 to 150,000 a year. Imprudently, it would seem. His conservatism rapidly reached boiling point, as if in an electric kettle. The labor unions and the worker press had nothing good to say about the newfound politician, calling him a "right-wing extremist." Realizing that such a reputation would hardly help it sell more electrical goods, the corporation dropped a hint: Cool it. Soon Reagan was taken off the "General Electric Theater" altogether.

Too late. The actor had disappeared. In his place was born a politician with an actor's talent, with a solidly acquired and infallible feeling for his audience—a rather alarming hybrid if one imagines an actor as a leader at an emotional, often subconscious level, able to sweep people along by something that is difficult to quantify and identify.

President Carter experienced the effect of this invisible psychological weapon during the television election debates in 1980. He tried to tweak Reagan for his contempt for the "Medicare" medical insurance program. The governor of California shook his head indulgently and looked at his rival the way a grandfather looks at an inept grandchild—reproachfully but lovingly. All he said was: "There you go again...." It is thought that this little pantomime decided the outcome of the debates and at the same time of the election.

In actual fact, it was of course the economy that finished off Carter. Inflation that year went crazy—12 percent. Bank rates shot up sky-high and business curtailed production development.

America grieved. Public feeling bordered on mourning. Essentially, Reagan inherited a legacy of 20 years bearing the marks of shocks like the Vietnam War, Watergate, the Arab oil embargo...

Salesman of Optimism [subhead]

All of a sudden much began to change in the country's psychological atmosphere.

Reagan restored America's belief that it is capable of achieving a lot. And its belief in the institution of the presidency itself. By 1983 inflation had already fallen to 4.1 percent. The 8 years of Reagan's rule have given the country 9 million new jobs. A two-stage tax reform reduced the maximum tax rate from 70 to 28 percent, resulting in a certain revival not only of the U.S. but also of the Western economy. Despite the prevailing opinion that the 1986 tax reform law "made the rich richer and the poor poorer," poor Americans also benefited. In the past, for example, a single mother earning $10,000 a year used to pay $900 in taxes. This year she will not pay a single cent. After that what sort of attitude would you tell her to adopt toward the "antipeople" President?

Our pedantic specialists on America will, of course, say right away that Reagan was simply lucky—he built up his stock of popularity on the falling oil prices which coincided with his presidency. On the other hand, the economy of the Midwest has been undermined and the number of bankrupt farmers runs into tens of thousands. Suicides are increasingly common there. Furthermore, Reagan purchased the economic boom on credit. The insane arms expenditure is the main cause of the all-American headache: The federal debt has reached $2.6 trillion and the budget deficit is about to top $165 billion.

Reagan is simply using his credit card in the store. But the bills will come in and will have to be paid. By whom? Obviously, by his successor's administration.

All this is true. But the President marches over the fences of the imperfections of "Reaganomics," steps over failures like the deaths of Marines in Beirut or the "Iran-contras" scandal with his head held high. In a strange and magical fashion he seems to be dissociated from what he himself has done if it is damaging to his popularity. Reagan is giving America what it has been yearning for. Optimism. Self-belief. Heroes, be they the "victors" of Grenada or the champions of the emasculated Olympic Games in Los Angeles.

And never mind all that—from the viewpoint of the man in the street, he himself is a hero. At any rate, an amazing example of cowboy bravado and zest for life. Simply a museum specimen of an American. Old age? Shucks, the President smiles, Giuseppe Verdi wrote "Otello" at the age of 73 and "Falstaff" at the age of 79. In other words, no excuses.

The date: 30 March 1981. Psychopath John Hinkley Jr pressed the trigger six times within 2 seconds. Ricochetting off the limousine's armor, a bullet flattened like a coin skidded along a presidential rib and stopped 3 cm from his heart. To the physicians preparing him for the operation: "I hope you guys are all Republicans." To his wife, leaning over his bed: "Darling, I forgot to duck." No, this optimism was not invented by some smart presidential aide. We abuse the temptation to present the Americans' sympathy for Reagan and the magnetism of his personality as clever tricks by his apparatus which organizes publicity photographs and television pictures. But what if the President is largely the man, the organic, thoroughly American character, he appears to be?

Apart from everything else, he is by no means wearing himself out in the office of President. He cannot stomach the sacrifices made by Carter and Ford, who used to jump out of bed at 0530 hours in the morning and sat up working until all hours. Reagan performs his presidential duties as if playing a part. It is said that he does not work for more than 4 and 1/2 hours a day. In any case, here is a fact confirmed by biographer George Sullivan: Previously, a National Security Council messenger used to appear with the latest dispatches at 0730 hours every morning. Reagan switched this daily briefing to 0930 hours. "Show me an official who works overtime," the President told voters on one occasion, "and I will show you a bad official."

Of course, Reagan would not be Reagan without Nancy. She is more than just a guardian angel. Lou Cannon, author of the book "Reagan," describes movie actress Nancy Davis, who became the future President's wife in 1952, as "the spark and driving force" of his life. The First Lady maintains, as Americans say, a "high profile." In other words, she is in the public eye.

Her favorite hobby is the so-called Foster Grandparents Program. This is an organization where older people befriend orphans or disabled children to help them cope with the initial burdens of life and make their way in the world. The struggle against drugs is another crusade [svyatoye delo] to which Nancy has devoted herself. She warns against this curse of modern America in schools and on the television screen, and she even plays parts in television plays.

From time to time the press publishes details and opinions which make it clear that the First Lady seems to have considerable influence on the process of presidential decisionmaking and on Reagan's relations with members of the administration and the White House staff. Recently her name has been linked with the so-called "history book" theory. According to this theory, Nancy supposedly encourages Reagan to take state actions, especially in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations, which will give him a good name in history.

Not all Americans like Nancy's high public "profile." Feminist organizations are especially vociferous. But they criticize her from the reverse standpoint: For being "too feminine," "her husband's echo," "ostentatiously in love with him," and even for her "GAZE" [preceding word printed in English]—the characteristic wide-eyed and adoring look which Nancy gives the President during his speeches. Nancy is convinced: The First Lady's position must promote public devotion.

Especially if the stars and the moon are favorably positioned. In a book being prepared for publication, Donald Regan, former White House chief of staff, has just produced a sensation: Nancy consults an astrologer about the President's daily schedule and the dates for his speeches and travels. The White House has confirmed the First Lady's interest in the movement of celestial bodies, an interest which intensified after the attempt on Reagan's life outside the Hilton Hotel. People say that it was Nancy who insisted, on her astrologer's advice, that the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles be signed at 1330 hours on 8 December.

We Have To Do Business! [subhead]

If the Gogol character were among us today, he would exclaim: "An anticommunist is coming to visit us!"

It is well known that Reagan's—to put it mildly—dislike of our ideology stems from the late forties, the "scoundrel time" when a senator terrified the country with the "communist infiltration of the movie industry." Following "stars" like Robert Taylor and Gary Cooper, Reagan swore on the Bible in the fall of 1947. That was when the House Un-american Activities Committee held its first hearings. Witness Reagan testified: Yes, there is no doubt that Communists are trying to take control of Hollywood. It was movie industry McCarthyism that made a politician out of him, according to Michael Rogin, author of the study "Ronald Reagan, Movie Industry and Other Episodes in Political Demonology," which has just been published in the United States. Certain eruptions of Reagan's anticommunism are recalled: "His participation in Fred Schwartz' 'Christian Crusade' in the early sixties and the speech in praise of Barry Goldwater which lamented 'the billion people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain.'"

Once Reagan reached the White House, there was an advance against the "communist devils" with banners unfurled. The President's famous speech to evangelists in Orlando on 8 March 1983 leaves no doubts at all: To crush the Soviets would be a mission of purification pleasing to the Almighty. Let us save the Russians by dispatching them to the Christian paradise in heaven!

The political consequences were quick to emerge. There was not a single Soviet-U.S. contact at summit level during the first Reagan administration. Out of all possible preconditions for talks with Moscow, just one was

selected: strength and disruption of parity in the U.S. favor. Military corporations made record profits. The "Reagan Doctrine" reigned in U.S. foreign policy, justifying interference to undermine progressive governments and national liberation movements anywhere on the globe.

That was the 1980-1984 model of President Ronald Reagan.

But this same man is now arriving for his fourth meeting with the Soviet leader in 3 years. This same man who rejected SALT II in the past but invested considerable energy, political realism, and courage in signing the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, that ticket to the era of practical nuclear disarmament.

The world's journalists, including Soviet journalists, have produced mountains of words to explain this phenomenon. According to their positions, authors shuffle a sizable pack of factors, including peacemaking public sentiments in the United States, the economic need to reduce military expenditure, worry among the NATO allies, the emergence of sensible figures like George Shultz within the administration, the President's desire to get out of the "Iran-contra" scandal, and even Nancy's wish for a chapter in the history books. It is gratifying that the role played by our country and its leader, who has amazed the West with the flexibility of his peace initiatives, is invariably placed at the center of this chain of cause and effect. The new thinking was given an entry visa for Washington within just a few months. People there seem to be inclining toward the view that international security can no longer be sliced up like a pizza: This is our American slice, and this is your Soviet one. The nuclear threat has welded the fate of mankind into a single whole.

Even so, however, I would be in no hurry to exclaim, as people in our country sometimes do: Reagan has changed because we have changed. I also feel somewhat uncomfortable with the "blinding insight" theory: The crusader is galloping along at full speed, his lance at the ready, but suddenly pulls in the reins, making the horse rear on its legs: Hey! The New Thinking is blocking the way!

Reagan the classic anticommunist is ideologically unchanged, just as the size of the suits he wears has remained unchanged for years. He is merely soberly assessing the limits of the possible in dramatically changed conditions. "I do not think that it is necessary to abandon one's principles and views," one of his closest advisers said a few days ago. "But we've got to do business!" Reagan's last three or four speeches before his departure for Moscow, are amazingly contradictory. They range from odes about the "struggle between the pen and the sword" to the admission: "I do not belittle the importance of what is happening in the USSR." The President seems to be wavering between his two personas—the traditionally established persona and the persona acquired by force of circumstance. Stevenson's Mr Hyde cannot find the strength to part with Dr Jekyll.

But he must. The business of disarmament must be done and, generally speaking, Soviet-U.S. relations must be raised to a new and more fitting level. The Moscow visit offers a wonderful chance to do this. Its results will go a long way toward determining the end of the chapter which the 40th presidency will write in history—whether it will end with a period or an exclamation mark.

Welcome, President Reagan, to the Land of Restructuring.

Petrovskiy Briefing on Upcoming Moscow Summit

LD2605050888 Moscow TASS in English 0753 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—"We see the upcoming talks between the leaders of the USSR and the United States as a major event not only in Soviet-American relations but in world politics as a whole," said Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister. He was addressing a press conference here today on the Soviet approach to the main subject of the upcoming Soviet-American summit meeting.

The Moscow summit talks are an important milestone on the way to the long-term goal of overcoming the legacy of cold war and building a solid multilayer system of constructive relations with the United States that would be stable to adverse impacts. "We are confident that not only our two countries, but also the whole international community stand to gain from that," Petrovskiy emphasised.

"We hope that the meeting will proceed in the spirit of mutual respect and on a realistic basis, and will elevate Soviet-American relations to a higher stage for further advancement."

The speakers at the press conference are Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute of U.S. and Canada of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and Nikolay Shishlin, a senior official of the CPSU Central Committee.

Notes 'Positive Elements'

LD2605090688 Moscow TASS in English 0853 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—"It is believed in the Soviet Union that international consensus is shaping not only on a Middle East settlement, but also on the need to convene an international conference on the issue," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told a news conference here today.

"We in the Soviet Union," he continued, "have taken note of certain positive elements in U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz' remarks, in particular those concerning the U.S. attitude to the convocation of the conference."

"We believe that time has come to actuate the settlement mechanism and embark on real talks at a conference on a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East," Petrvoskiy said.

"It is very important now," he stressed in reply to a question, "to reach agreement on transition to practical action towards convening the conference and begin organizing it."

Assesses U.S.-Soviet Ties

LD2605100088 Moscow TASS in English 0945 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—"We see the upcoming talks between the leaders of the USSR and the U.S. as a major event not only in the Soviet-American relationship, but also in world politics in general," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy told a news conference here today.

It dealt with the Soviet approach to the key issues to be taken up at the summit.

Petrovskiy pointed to the INF Treaty and the agreements on an Afghanistan settlement as striking examples of "renewal in international politics," which "demonstrate graphically that dynamic dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States can and should become an important catalyst of positive change in this interdependent world."

The deputy foreign minister described the summit as offering an opportunity to draw a balance sheet for cooperation between the two countries over recent years and, most importantly, to secure further progress in Soviet-U.S. relations and map out further efforts to build a safer world.

"The meeting in Moscow provides real opportunities for elevating dialogue and mutual understanding to a new high and for looking for areas of accord in every field covered by the agenda of Soviet-U.S. relations," Petrovskiy continued.

Speaking of arms reduction issues, he said the Moscow talks will focus on a treaty for halving Soviet and American strategic offensive arms and an agreement for non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty.

"The fact that it has not proved possible to prepare the treaty for signature at the Moscow meeting should not arouse any surprise, the more so disappointment.

"The future strategic offensive arms reduction treaty will affect the most fundamental aspects of the security of the USSR and the United States and so it has to be prepared most carefully to ensure a balance of interests and checked down to the minutest detail," Petrovskiy said.

He added it is a significant and encouraging reality in world politics that the feasibility of the goal of cutting strategic offensive arms by half is no longer doubted by anyone.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister then said that the forthcoming negotiations will pay much attention also to regional problems and humanitarian issues.

Dwelling upon the Soviet-American relationship, he pointed to positive trends that have emerged there over the past three years.

One example mentioned by him was the successful realization of a program for developing bilateral ties, which has been set forth in the joint Soviet-American statement of December 10, 1987.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister admitted at the same time that "the potential for bilateral cooperation, most notably trade and economic contacts, has so far been tapped far from fully. So the task is to create conditions to bring it out in full."

Scores Talk With 'Refusniks'

LD2605110088 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—Asked by a TASS correspondent at today's press-conference for Soviet and foreign newsmen, Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, commented on the statement by the White House spokesman in Washington that during his stay in Moscow President Reagan is planning to meet in the residence of the U.S. ambassador on May 30 with a group of so-called "Refusniks" and "dissidents." The Soviet deputy foreign minister had this to say: "The U.S. President, who will be our guest in Moscow, is, certainly free to decide who of Soviet citizens he finds interesting and useful to meet with outside the framework of the official events."

"In discussing the programme of the visit we had the impression from what the U.S. side told us that it was planned to meet with representatives of broad circles of Soviet public," Vladimir Petrovskiy continued.

He recalled that during his visit to Washington Mikhail Gorbachev had a number of interesting and instructive conversations with representatives of various sections of the American society. "Then we, certainly, could not meet all the wishes for such meetings expressed by the Americans. But they came from different sort of people.

There was simply not enough time for that. In addition we wished the meeting to proceed normally and therefore reckon with all the nuances."

As far as the planned meeting of the U.S. President with "Refusniks" and "dissidents" is concerned, Vladimir Petrovskiy noted that it "looks in a different light, since the point at issue is an obviously tendentious selection of the participants." One thing is clear already now, Vladimir Petrovskiy emphasised: "This American move is hardly aimed at improving mutual understanding between the United States and the USSR."

U.S. Ambassador Comments on Summit Hopes

LD2505181188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] In today's broadcast we include excerpts of an interview which Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, gave to a radio correspondent in connection with the Soviet-U.S. summit which begins on 29 May in Moscow:

I think, Matlock said, that the meeting will be very significant. After all, our leaders are discussing in great detail and very seriously a wide range of questions. We cannot expect agreement from them on all problems, just as we cannot expect a fast solution to all these problems. They are complex. We have had to have dealings with several of them for decades. But after each meeting between our leaders, we discover that our positions are growing closer. Dialogue is improving and becoming more productive. And I believe that this is the whole point of such meetings.

As for the treaty on reducing strategic weapons by 50 percent, Ambassador Jack Matlock stated, here, too, we are growing closer and closer. And although it is clear that this time we will not have time to complete work on it, we will continue this work. I expect that here, too, the summit will lead to a certain progress.

I am certain that everyone wants healthy relations between the USSR and the United States. We cannot count on our interests being identical, Jack Matlock noted, or that all the complexities and difficulties in our relations will vanish, but we must continue the dialogue. I would like Soviet-U.S. summits to take place every year, or at any rate, to be held on a permament basis. Only in this way can we work out a joint approach to resolving problems and avoid confrontation in future.

Senate INF 'Delaying Tactics' Reported

PM2505105988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Gan: "Delaying Tactics"]

[Text] Washington, 24 May—The few but strident opponents of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have been able to delay the progress of debates in the U.S. Senate on its approval. The leaders of the supreme chamber admitted today that a final vote on the treaty will be impossible before the departure of President Reagan, who leaves on Wednesday for Finland, where he will make a stopover before arriving in Moscow for the summit.

Holding a meeting with the legislators Monday morning, both Secretary of State Shultz and leading Republican senators urged the conservatives to abandon their delaying tactics. R. Dole, Republican leader, warned his obstinate colleagues that, otherwise, they "will put our party and our President in an awkward position." But these arguments clearly fell on deaf ears. Senators Helms and Wallop submitted a new selection of "killer amendments" to the treaty.

At the end of the day, the Senate rejected by a substantial majority attempts to undermine the treaty. But several hours had been spent on their discussion and on arguments, and there was no constructive, responsible examination of the treaty. Indeed, that was what the rightists were seeking—diverting the debates on all kinds of farfetched pretexts. We should not be surprised if this line of theirs is continued in the days to come.

According to forecasts that the treaty's supporters are now making, there is, nonetheless, a hope that the Senate will give its "advice and consent" by the end of this week, and that would make it possible to ratify the treaty before the end of the Moscow meeting. Indeed, forecasts are all very well, but THE WASHINGTON POST, for instance, writes that it is expected that the vote on the resolution ratification will be the main battlefield on various issues. That means that the treaty is still faced with a far from smooth sailing on the waves of the Senate debates before the two powers can take the unprecedented step of destroying at least part of their nuclear missiles.

'Has Time' Before Summit

PM2505121988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "The Time for the Vote Has Come"]

[Text] Washington—The question of the ratification of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has been discussed in the U.S. Senate for a week now.

What is taking place in the Senate chamber cannot be described as a debate in the strict sense of the word. After introductory statements by the Senate leaders—they all expressed themselves in favor of the treaty—amendments came up for discussion. Speeches by the proposers

of amendments attract little attention as a rule. Many senators leave their seats to go out into the corridor or even to their own offices, only returning to the chamber in time for the vote.

The Senate clerk calls out senators' names in alphabetic order. They signal with their hand and reply "aye," in favor, or "nay," against. The clerk repeats their replies in a monotonous voice as he writes down the results of the vote.

The lack of interest in these amendments is easy to explain. Their authors, the extreme right-wing Senators J. Helms and M. Wallop, G. Humphrey, and S. Symms, who hold similar views, would like to thwart the ratification of the treaty. However, they cannot muster enough votes to do this. So they are trying, by means of procedural ploys, to put off the final vote, to delay it for as long as possible. Last Saturday the Senate rejected, one after another, five amendments put forward by the treaty's opponents. On Monday, however, they submitted new ones. These were not passed by the Senate either.

On Monday U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz called at the Senate. He reminded senators: "There was a time to investigate, but now the time has come to vote." Republican Minority leader R. Dole drew the extreme conservatives' attention to the fact that they are putting President R. Reagan, who starts his visit to the USSR next Sunday, in a difficult position. R. Dole stated that he is prepared to put forward a proposal to limit the amendment debate to 30 hours. If this proposal is adopted, the question of the ratification of the treaty will be put to the vote when the 30-hour limit expires.

According to the press, the Senate will not be able to adopt a decision on the ratification of the treaty prior to R. Reagan's departure from Washington scheduled for Wednesday (en route for the USSR, R. Reagan is to stop in Helsinki for 3 days). However, the Senate has time enough to resolve this question before the beginning of the Moscow meeting.

Primakov Interviewed on U.S.-Soviet Relations

AU2505172788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 88 p 5

[Interview with Yevgeniy Primakov, CPSU Politburo candidate member, member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Supreme Soviet deputy, and director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, by TRYBUNA LUDU Moscow correspondent Jerzy Kraszewski: "So That Optimism May Become Historical Reality"; date not given]

[Text] [Kraszewski] We are talking almost on the eve of the U.S. President's arrival in Moscow and the fourth Soviet-American summit in recent years. Never before has history noted such regular and dynamic contacts between two countries with opposite social systems. How would you assess the results of this dialogue? Is the new political thinking really paving its way in international relations?

[Primakov] If we look back and try to assess the previous Soviet-American summits, then we have to say that all three—in Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington—have contributed toward a healing of the international situation. What is more, I would point out a clear evolution—each meeting was more important than the previous one. So one can certainly talk of a gradual accumulation of the potential necessary to stabilize the international situation.

However, there is no basis for saying that this process is going to develop automatically, along a fixed line. Can this happen? Of course. But zigzags, and even the occasional turn-back and stop, cannot be ruled out. Despite this, I feel that the main line will perpetuate itself. The new political thinking is paving its way in international relations, even though it is difficult to overcome all the obstacles.

[Kraszewski] Even so, it is difficult to rid oneself of certain skepticism caused by recent experience. A peace program was adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress, and an era of detente commenced in international relations. At that time I was working in Moscow and commented on this program in TRYBUNA LUDU, so I remember the details. The world approved of the Soviet initiatives. And yet detente declined in the first half of the 1970's. Why? Is the West really interested in finding ways of peaceful coexistence?

[Primakov] I would not try to establish any clear analogy between what happened in the first half of the 1970's and what is happening today. First, the world in the middle of the 1980's is much closer to the line which separates us from human extinction. Second, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries today are not just proclaiming the new approach and new political thinking, but are also firmly introducing them to international relations. Third, the detente processes in the middle of the 1970's only applied to the political sphere, and were not backed by any real activity in the military sphere.

As far as the present period is concerned, there is every reason to believe that it is in the military-political sphere that the tension is being removed. Is this not proved by the first agreement in history on the elimination of two categories of nuclear weapons—intermediate- and shorter-range missiles? Or by the progress in working out an agreement to halve strategic nuclear forces?

Is the West really interested in finding ways of peaceful coexistence? I would be careful about using the very concept of "West." We are not dealing with a monolith at all. Broad masses of people are interested in peaceful coexistence with us, but not just they. One can say that more and more representatives of some ruling circles are

also interested. Why is this? They cannot fail to understand that the only alternative to peaceful coexistence is suicidal war. It would be suicidal for the West to use war as a continuation of policy toward us, but this time using "other resources." At the same time, public opinion is becoming more influential, no doubt to our advantage as a result of the restructuring, openness, and democratization in the USSR and other socialist countries. And if the stereotypes caused by a long period of hostile propaganda, which pictured the USSR as a big brown bear threatening the world, are now collapsing, this too is having an effect. Realism in the politics of many Western leaders is receiving more room for development.

[Kraszewski] So capitalism is beginning to adapt itself to a future denuclearized and demilitarized world? Does that mean that the development of events is supplying the first real answers to the cardinal question asked by Mikhail Gorbachev in his report marking the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution? Is this kind of optimism not premature?

[Primakov] Let us be honest; premature optimism is pessimism. And I have to admit that I am an optimist, and not because I am exaggerating capitalism's adaptation to a future denuclearized and war-free world. After all, reality shows that modern capitalism is adapting itself to a nuclear reality [as published], albeit with difficulty and unsteadiness. One must not ignore this. This adaptation will accelerate and will receive a permanent foundation under the influence of the new political thinking in the foreign policy of the socialist countries.

You ask for an answer to Mikhail Gorbachev's cardinal question about whether capitalism can develop without a militarization of economies or neocolonialism. Right now the answers are not unequivocal, and are sometimes complicated. But despite everything, I think that life has already provided an answer or will do so in the future.

[Kraszewski] However, international relations always possess their class, social aspect. Do you not think that capitalism will try to make world stabilization occur by means of an artificial status quo, which would include the export of counterrevolution? You mentioned this danger in one of your articles. Let us add that the West frequently talks of the need for "social retaliation."

[Primakov] This whole picture has to be viewed dialectically. Imperialism is not ceasing to be imperialism. Of course it is interested in preserving the status quo. Of course it will try to export counterrevolution. Of course it will aim toward "social retaliation." However, the problem is whether it will succeed in implementing all this at a time when the situation is radically changing in the direction of peace, at a time of increasing differences between Western ruling circles, and, most important of all, at a time when we are pursuing a constructive, sober, and realistic line, criticizing our past mistakes, adhering to principles, and aiming toward future compromise decisions. All this is weakening imperialism and reducing its real possibilities of "retaliation."

One can sing and shout about one's revolutionary nature from morning till night and assure everyone of one's readiness to reduce imperialism to ashes and dust. One can pursue a foreign policy of slogans, appealing to nations, but ignoring real contacts with imperialist governments. One can shout, hold rallies, and entreat others. But history has shown that this does not make imperialism any weaker. But when a flexible, constructive line is implemented, one that takes public opinion into account and is geared to finding a communion of interests among all states, then imperialism is not just incapable of strengthening itself, but cannot even maintain its full previous position. This seems completely obvious to me.

[Kraszewski] So far there have been few indications that the propaganda and psychological war being waged against the socialist countries is being wound down. The Soviet Union and Poland have recently experienced it once again....

[Primakov] I agree with you. A real psychological war is being waged against us. Extreme right-wing forces that are opposed to the socialist world have little intention of laying down their propaganda weapons. However, today we can already say that in view of the situation in the USSR and the other socialist countries, with restructuring, openness, democratization, now that we are not cutting ourselves off from our own people, are not trying to keep this or that kind of information secret from anyone, and we are talking openly about our mistakes, oversights, and shortcomings, the psychological war that is being waged against us by extremist conservative forces does not have the same effect as before.

[Kraszewski] You hear it said that the events in Central America, Afghanistan, and the Middle East have been deemed regional conflicts. It is true that they affect entire regions. However, at the same time, they are either—as in the case of Afghanistan or Nicaragua—connected with defending social achievements from counterrevolution or—as in the case of the Palestinians—with liberation struggles. My question is what prospects are there for national liberation movements in today's world, a world that is threatened with nuclear destruction.

[Primakov] National and social liberation movements are forms of an objective historical process. That is how everyone should view them. As for the particular conditions that have arisen in the thermonuclear age, I would single out two. First, none of the demands pertaining to national or social liberation should conflict with the task of preserving peace, that is to say, the preservation of mankind. Second, the attainment of this goal should not serve as a pretext for acting against efforts to achieve national or social liberation. This is not only impermissible, it is also nonsensical from the historical point of view.

[Kraszewski] So, how would you describe prospects for the contemporary road to socialism? The internal contradictions that set in motion the mechanisms of socialist change—both revolutionary and evolutionary—are not, after all, isolated from international contradictions....

[Primakov] I believe that the future belongs to socialism. Of course, the road is not an easy one. We in the Soviet Union have become convinced of this and so have you in Poland. The more we purge socialism of everything that is alien to it, the more we revive Leninist ideas of socialism while naturally adapting them to present-day reality, the closer we get to our socialist future. By restoring glory to socialism and creating a model of socialism that is really attractive, we will establish the most important condition for making mankind move toward a formation that is higher than capitalism. Today it has become completely clear that only a fundamental reorganization of real socialism, a decidedly new formulation of its theory, and the abandonment of concepts of socialism that are dogmatic or completely alien to Marxism-Leninism will make it possible to effect the revolutionary renewal of the world.

Revolution has not in any sense been removed from the agenda, but in the nuclear age the basic principle that cannot be violated has become all the more apparent: A revolution should come about because of the internal contradictions in the development of a given capitalist country and in no way and nowhere should it be organized or incited by anyone from outside. The essentially Trotskyist slogan of exporting revolution is even less acceptable today than when Lenin fought against it. Of course, the export of counterrevolutions should also be completely excluded.

There are other, perhaps even more important, "restrictions:" The problem of the victory of socialism cannot be solved in the sphere of relations between states. That is why the CPSU has raised the matter of a policy course that is geared toward removing ideology from relations between states belonging to the two systems and of completely eliminating the function of ensuring the victory of one system over another from relations. Socialist states should influence the course of history by force of example. This Leninist thesis has assumed particular relevance today.

[Kraszewski] Let us return to disarmament issues. Assuming the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles and the treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons are signed, what will happen next? What are the prospects for further disarmament moves?

[Primakov] The prospects for further moves toward disarmament are very real. After all, every signing of an agreement is a kind of breakthrough, and in both a psychological and a practical sense it makes easier to achieve new agreements. For example, the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles produced a comprehensive inspection system and the ideas behind it can be applied in the case of the agreement on a 50-percent reduction in offensive strategic weapons. We cannot ignore the fact that societies are getting accustomed to the possibility of solving difficult problems relating to arms reduction and that they are exerting increasing pressure in favor of such solutions.

However, there are certain limitations that will emerge on the path toward universal disarmament. I personally do not believe, for example, that it will be easy to eliminate every last nuclear weapon, even if there is not just one deep cut but a whole series of them. The main reason for this is that it is quite widely believed in the West that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons does not exclude the possibility that one of the nuclear powers can hide a few missiles or that one of the states that does not belong to the "nuclear club" can obtain nuclear weapons. People in the West say that if this happens some state may find itself in an advantageous position and will be able to dictate terms to other states.

So, the complete elimination of nuclear weapons is not possible without a fail-safe inspection mechanism, including a mechanism designed to prevent new production, and without the collapse of the current psychological mood, which can only occur during the development of a process of trust. But that is not all. After some time, during which deep cuts in nuclear weapons will occur, it will no longer be possible to achieve agreements on a bilateral, Soviet-American basis; such agreements will have to have a multilateral basis, involving all the nuclear powers, and this, as practice has shown, is not easy.

There are also a great many serious problems connected with reductions in conventional weapons and without a solution to these problems it will not be possible to make progress in reducing nuclear weapons.

[Kraszewski] So, what can we expect the fourth round of talks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan to produce?

[Primakov] We ought to be optimists, and we ought to struggle to make this optimism historical reality. That is the only possibility....

Moscow To Broadcast U.S. Radio Program

LD2605092388 Moscow TASS in English 0644 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—May 31, for the first time in history an American radio station will broadcast over Soviet radio.

WAVA-FM—one of the three most popular Washington, DC stations will broadcast live from 7:15 am through 7:45 am, Moscow time. "Good Morning, Moscow" will provide the people of the Soviet Union with an authentic

taste of morning radio as heard in the United States. Don Geronimo and Mike O'Meara, WAVA's highly rated morning team will present a mix of music, news, humour, information and commercials to the Soviet audience. The show will also be carried live on WAVA at 11:15 pm, Washington time. "Good Morning, Moscow" sent by satellite will be heard on the popular Soviet "Youth Channel" (the 3rd All-Union program) and repeated at 8:28 am on Radio Moscow World Service. The program presented in English, will be introduced and followed by a short summary in Russian.

This project continues a relationship between Gosteleradio and WAVA, begun last December during the Washington summit when the American radio station featured Soviet popular music and interviewed representatives of Radio Moscow.

A joint radio bridge called "Kids to Kids" on January 24th of this year allowed 6 Soviet and 6 American teenagers to communicate in a live 2-hour broadcast over national Soviet radio and WAVA.

"Good Morning, Moscow" is a symbol of media cooperation in a spirit of goodwill to the benefit of our countries, peoples of the United States and USSR.

U.S. Trying To Destabilize Nicaraguan Government

LD2505204888 Moscow TASS in English 1419 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Managua May 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov:

A few days before the end of the truce in Nicaragua a complicated military-political situation has shaped in that country fraught with a threat of continued U.S. armed aggression with the participation of Somozist mercenaries.

On the eve of the final round of talks to achieve an ultimate ceasefire, plans have been learned of the U.S. CIA to destabilize the situation in the republic with the assistance of ultra-reactionary political, trade union and religious forces.

The aim of the fresh provocation is to picture the rightist organisations as "victims of arbitrary rule" of the Sandinist regime and urge the international community to take sanctions against the Nicaraguan Government. The U.S. espionage department has even appropriated for representatives of the Nicaraguan opposition 32,000 dollars for anti-government demonstrations and actions.

As the newspaper BARRICADA pointed out in that connection the plan is a component part of the CIA's attempts at foiling the peace agreements reached by the government and counter-revolutionary leaders in Sapoa two months ago and to get from the Congress a resumption of military aid to the contras. This stands, as a matter of fact, for continued aggression against Nicaragua with the aim of overthrowing the Sandinist government, the newspaper stresses.

There have been more frequent violations by the contras of the temporary cessation of offensive operations until May 30 along with the broadening of the CIA's subversive operations against the republic. U.S. aircraft delivering weapons and ammunition to the contras, in preparation for a resumption of subversive activities continue violating Nicaragua's air space.

Guided by the wish for peace, the Nicaraguan Government has unilaterally prolonged the temporary ceasefire by one month to have an opportunity to reach agreement on final ceasefire and the changeover of the contras to peaceful political struggle.

Yet the chiefs of counter-revolution continue sticking, as before, to an obstructionist stand rejecting all peace initiatives of the national leadership and hampering the holding of ceasefire talks.

Because of the policy of the contras it is not clear until now whether the talks will be held or the last chance of a peaceful settlement in Nicaragua will be lost as a result of behind-the-stage intrigues of the leadership of the counter-revolution and the U.S. CIA. As the newspaper PRENSA was told in interview by Alfredo Cesar, who has been appointed head of the contra delegation at the talks, the leaders of the "resistance" insist on holding a final meeting in Sapoa while this is in principle counter to the agreement with the government. He also reaffirmed that the contra elements are on high combat alert.

Commentator Scores Reagan Nicaragua Statement

LD2505143688 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Follows commentary by Nikolay Chigir, a TASS political news analyst:

The statement of May 24 by U.S. President Ronald Reagan on Nicaragua is fresh evidence of Washington's obstructionist stance on the potentialities of a political settlement of conflict situations in Central America. It shows that while declaring by word of mouth for such a settlement, they in Washington are, as a matter of fact, conspiring a frustration of the peace process, the way to which has been opened by the Guatemala agreement of the presidents of the five Central American countries and the talks, which opened in accordance with them, between the Sandinist government and the leaders of the armed counter-revolution.

The U.S. President is trying to present things in such a way as if the Sandinist government has failed to abide by its commitments both as regards the Guatemala agreement and the agreement concluded in Sapoa with the contra leaders. But this is not true. As convincingly seen from the facts it is precisely the Nicaraguan Government

which is making the greatest efforts to complete as soon as possible the process of peaceful settlement and to that end has made serious concessions.

But it is precisely this constructive policy of the Nicaraguan leadership that does not suit the book of the U.S. Administration bringing crude pressure to bear on the contras, urging them on to a frustration of the talks. Washington is obviously unhappy about the possibility, which has appeared now, of putting an end to the fight by the contra armed groups, their joining in peaceful life and participation in the discussion of the problems of national dialogue confronting Nicaragua.

The U.S. ruling circles would very much wish to preserve the hired armed elements and continue with their hands the aggression against Nicaragua with the aim of overthrowing the Sandinist government. THE WASHINGTON POST said in this connection that they in Washington hope for the failure of the ceasefire talks with the contras and that support for the contras has turned into a main component part of the U.S. policy in Central America...wishing for military settlements in Central America the U.S. Administration has never seriously contemplated the possibility of talks.

The U.S. Administration's intention to continue whipping up the conflict in Central America with the use of power methods is seen also from the threat contained in Ronald Reagan's statement to win again from Congress an endorsement of appropriations for military aid to the contras. The U.S. Administration, as we see, continues opposing the striving of the peoples of Central American for peace, the clearly expressed wish of world public opinion for putting an end to the conflict in that region.

U.S. Efforts To Oust Panama's Noriega Fail

LD2605094388 Moscow TASS in English 0846 GMT 26 May 88

["United States Continuing Pressure on Panama"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington May 26 TASS—The effort by the U.S. Administration to force on Panama a change in its government welcome to the United States has suffered a setback. Addressing a press conference called at the U.S. State Department on Tuesday, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz said that the President had authorized him to recall United States negotiator Michael Kozak to Washington. Kozak has for a few weeks now been holding talks with the Panamanian officials, pressing ahead for the removal of Panama's military leader General Noriega from power.

The administration started the behind-the-stage talks when it became obvious that the tactics chosen by the United States of economic pressure and threats against Panama did not bring about the desired results. Washington's attempts at achieving these aims in roundabout ways have also proved to be unsuccessful. Addressing the press conference at the U.S. State Department George Shultz said that "all proposals addressed during these negotiations has been withdrawn and no offers remained on the table. No further negotiations are contemplated." The U.S. secretary of state stressed that the aims of the United States policy remained invariable.

He was trying to picture Noreiga as the main culprit of the difficult situation in which the country had found itself. Yet, as is pointed out by the Washington-based Research Organization Council on Western Hemispheric Affairs, Panama's economy is now on the verge of a paralysis as a result of the policy of the United States. Over the two months after the introduction by the United States of a series of discriminatory measures against Panama, general economic activeness in that country declined by 40 percent. Another 75 thousand Panamanians have lost their jobs.

'Expert Task Force' Report on 'Limited' SDI

LD2505221288 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—An expert task force under Robert Everett here has issued a report analyzing the possibility of creating a "limited" missile defense as part of the ill-famed "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI).

Its recommendations boil down essentially to a shift in priorities and the need for deployment to be carried out in steps, each of which should "have some value of its own."

The first proposed step is the emplacement of 100 ground-based interceptors, which is to be followed by orbiting space surveillance systems and then "a deployment to protect the NCA [National Command Authorities] against decapitation."

The further suggested phases are "the addition of space-based interceptors" and "space-based and ground-based directed energy weapons".

The first two steps, the report said, could be taken within "the narrow definition of the ABM Treaty" and the third step "may be achievable within the treaty depending on the characteristics of the systems deployed".

"Subsequent deployment steps," the report added, "would require renegotiation of or withdrawal from the treaty".

Commenting on the report, Democratic Senator Bennett Johnston of Louisiana said changes to the SDI program in line with budgetary and technological realities were inevitable and the report offered further arguments for such a revision.

He said he believed the right thing to do in the SDI effort would be to conduct long-term studies rather than deploying a missile defense for the sake of deployment.

His mention of budgetary realities was not accidental. The authorization bill recently approved by the House of Representatives for the next fiscal year provides for appropriating 3.5 billion dollars for the program, which is 1.1 billion dollars less than requested by the administration.

The Senate Armed Services Committee, for its part, has recommended allocating 4.6 billion dollars for the purpose.

Both versions of the bill—the one already endorsed by the House and the one to be soon passed by the Senate—will go to the Congressional Conference Committee. The issue of funding for SDI is expected to be among the thornier problems to come up there in working out a compromise.

U.S. Admiral's View of Naval Threat Criticized

PM2505091388 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 24 May 88 p 7

[Gennadiy Gerasimov dispatch under the "World on Tuesday" rubric: "The Children's Choir and the Admiral's Solo"]

[Text] Honolulu-Moscow—The 102d annual convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association was ending at the Waikiki Sheraton, which stands on Honolulu's celebrated golden beach. It was ending, as is customary, with a ceremonial dinner with speeches and "entertainment," which, in this case, can be translated as the "artistic part." The heavyweights in the American newspaper world headed by the Association's re-elected president, Arthur Sulzberger, publisher and editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES, sat down behind tables on the stage.

The Khalau Khula Olakha [name as published] children's song and dance group entered from the side of the stage and occupied part of the hall. I was brought a little box with a small paper heart pinned on it. Written on it was "Aloha! (the invariable Hawaiian greeting). From Ingrid Shroffner [name as published], Miss Hawaii." The box contained a child's inflatable globe on which could be seen particularly clearly, since it was transparent, just how far Honolulu is from Moscow—right on the other side of the world. It is difficult to maintain a rubric called "The World on Tuesday" at such a distance. But even at this distance there is a desire to be on friendly terms with us.

The group had specially learned the song "Let There Always Be Sunshine" for the final dinner of the publishers' convention. It had learned it in Russian and in translation.

It was particularly touching because 2 hours earlier we had met with Admiral Ronald Hays, commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, and listened to his thoughts on the growing "Soviet threat" in the region in his charge, which, given that the admiral also has responsibility for the Indian Ocean, embraces half the globe.

The children's group then went to Washington to perform the song as part of the National Crusade Against Drugs. A press release said that "thanks to assistance offered by the Sony company a videocassette of the song performed in Russian will be handed to Mrs Nancy Reagan with the request that she consider offering it as a gift to Mrs Raisa Gorbachev and Soviet children during the summit meeting in Moscow."

The 40,000 children on the Hawaiian Islands who have joined the "Just Say No!" (to drugs) organization are ready to correspond with Soviet children "from all republics," wish to learn the Russian language (it is studied in one school), and are organizing a group to visit our country this summer. And they send an "aloha"—greetings—and convey their wish to seek together to "create a peaceful world where children can grow up healthy and happy."

The admiral displayed a quite different attitude. He organized for the publishers a slide show of his own on a large screen in the same hall, with commentary given by two fleet officers. A woman officer represented the American side (she told me that 11 percent of the fleet complement are women). A male officer represented the Soviet side.

The aim of this cliche-ridden, oft-repeated show was highly dialectical, it was to demonstrate how great the "Soviet threat" in the Pacific Ocean is while convincing the American audience that American sailors—male and female—are capable of mastering it. Soviet ships were shown at sea, estimates of their number in the Pacific cited, and photographs taken from space of the Vietnamese city of Cam Ranh with oil-storage tanks and Soviet planes and ships—everything that you will not read about even in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA—shown. American might was also effectively demonstrated. When the light was switched back on in the hall and the admiral expressed his readiness to answer questions, the first one asked was: "But could not a Soviet representative learn something useful from the show?" "No," the admiral answered, "the figures cited are generally available." The answer was not, I think, altogether correct. I learned more about Cam Ranh and other things than I could have gleaned from Soviet sources....

Unlike previous issues, the latest, seventh edition of the Pentagon pamphlet "Soviet Military Power," which appeared 29 April, stresses the "buildup" of that power in Asia and the Pacific. But it was no easy job for Admiral Hays to prove this. Our naval activity there, for example, calculated in terms of ship days at sea decreased considerably last year—a fact which has been

commented on by Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden, among others. Nevertheless, the level of naval activity was for Hays one of the indicators of the size of the "Soviet threat." He got out of the difficulty by saying that the Russians "have changed their philosophy" and now work on the basis that the level of ships' combat readiness is higher if they they are laid up longer, since they wear out more quickly on the open sea. He's a hard man to please....

And while the American fleet gets ready to repulse the "Soviet threat" from its main base at Pearl Harbor, where in 1941 Japan destroyed that fleet, people on the Hawaiian Islands talk only about the "second Pearl Harbor" that is taking place quietly. Since the beginning of 1986 the Japanese have invested several billion dollars there. They have bought up all the hotels in the Waikiki Beach area, which, I would guess, is three times the size of Sochi. They own all the main resorts on the other islands of the Hawaiian archipelago. The Waikiki Sheraton, for example, has been bought by Kio-ya [name as published]. You see signs in Japanese and hear Japanese spoken everywhere. Last year 1.16 million Japanese came here, each one spending $367 a day. The number of American visitors was greater, but they only spent $102 a day. The Americans spent less than one-third what the Japanese spent. And doubtless one reason for this is that the Americans have to spend a lot of dollars on "defense" against a nonexistent "Soviet threat."

Scientists Write Reagan on Visa Refusals

LD2505221388 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"We attentively read the speech you made before leaving on the visit to our country and in which you call once again for free exchanges. We note with regret that your good wishes and words are at variance with facts of life". This is an excerpt from a letter sent today to President Reagan by a group of Soviet scientists. Late in May Academician Boris Naumov, corresponding member Boris Batalov, Professor Vadim Kotov, corresponding member Anatoliy Stogniy were to leave for the United States as members of a delegation of the USSR Academy of Sciences at the invitation of leading firms in the field of personal and mass computers but were denied visas.

They note in their letter that Soviet scientists, just as all Soviet people, are following with great attention the important steps that are being taken in the field of detente and rapproachement between the USSR and the United States, especially in the field of developing contacts between people, cultural, scientific and economic ties. The scientists recall that in his recent speech President Reagan had again called for the development of exchanges. But the conditions which were set for the members of the Soviet delegation to get their visas "are at full variance" with what the U.S. President says and wants to see. "Addressing you personally and welcoming your visit to our country we would want you and your successors to know this," the scientists wrote.

Time and again the American side takes such discriminatory actions against Soviet representatives. In March of this year the State Department denied visas to a delegation of the Central Committee of the Building Workers' Union which was to visit the United States at the invitation of American trade unions. Similar discrimination was exercised against trade union functionaries, journalists and scientists. It is noteworthy that this happened whenever there was a slightest thaw in Soviet-American relations. It is hardly coincidental that the Soviet scientists were denied visas virtually on the eve of the summit meeting.

"We have faith that you will take all the necessary measures to convert good decisions into reality," the Soviet scientists wrote in their letter to the President.

China

Cultural, Technological Cooperation Reported

OW2505153488 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 22 May 88

[Text] A communications and transportation work group meeting of the permanent committee on Soviet-Chinese economic, scientific and technological cooperation was held in Moscow. One of the issues discussed at the meeting was the prospects of developing water transport between the two countries. The meeting noted that the two countries share over 3,000 kilometers of border waterways, which is the most convenient and cheapest route of transporting the ever increasing volume of goods between the two countries. The two sides have agreed to hold a meeting in Harbin between the delegates of river transport departments of the Amur and the Heilongjiang rivers. The Soviet Union and China will draft an agreement on increasing the transport volume from Blagoveschensk to Leninsk to China's Haihe and Tongjiang. The two sides will also discuss scientific and technological cooperation regarding the development of river transportation between the two countries.

Soviet Minister of Culture Zakharov visited China at the invitation of Wang Meng, China's minister of culture. During his visit, he signed a 3-year cultural cooperation agreement with China. A Cossack singing troupe from Kuban will perform in China this year, the Bolshoi Ballet next year, and Soviet circus troupes in 1990. Chinese traditional music troupes, singing and dancing troupes, and circus troupes will pay return visits. In addition to exchanging traditional forms of cultural visits, there will be the establishment of contacts between museums, libraries, music institutes, and art schools. There is a possiblity of expanding private contacts between creative intellectuals in the two countries.

Listeners: You probably know that the Soviet scientific and technological day will be held in Beijing in November. Therefore, the preparatory committee for this activity held a meeting in Moscow. Some 2,500 kinds of scientific and technological products created by Soviet scientists and engineers will be exhibited at the Soviet scientific and technological exhibition to introduce to Chinese visitors the scientific and technological achievements of the Soviet Union. Meetings between scientists and experts of the two countries will also be arranged to discuss further bilateral scientific and technological cooperation.

Soviet-Chinese border trade in the Far East has been developing rapidly. Border trade resumed in 1982. Both the Soviet Union and China attach importance to the expanding trade relations. For example, Heilongjiang Governor Hou Jie noted that trade with the Soviet Far East could reach 200 million Swiss francs, the highest amount in the trading history of this province with the Soviet border areas.

Dozens of Soviet factories are jointly executing orders from China. The Leningrad Machinery Plant, manufacturer of turbines for power stations, is one such factory. Two turbines with a capacity of 215,000 kwh were transported to China. According to the contract, by 1990, this machinery manufacturing plant in Leningrad will have produced 10 such turbines for (Jiangzhe), Mudanjiang, and (Huangzhao) thermal power stations. The long-term cooperation plan calls for providing 500,000 kwh turbines for (Yimin) and (Jishen) power stations now under construction and a 800,000 kwh turbine for (Suizhong) thermal power station. The supply of these turbines is based on a long-term economic, scientific and technological cooperation agreement signed by the two governments. The agreement also stipulates that the Soviet Union will assist China in building or renovating 24 industrial projects.

Joint Venture Restaurant Contract Signed

PM2505090788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Beijing Duck"]

[Text] Beijing—Talks with a Moscow Gorispolkom delegation have ended in Beijing. A contract has been signed on establishing the first joint Soviet-Chinese enterprise based on the Moscow "Pekin" Restaurant.

The new joint-stock company is called "Beijing in Moscow." The Soviet side will put up 70 percent of the R4 million funds and the Chinese will be responsible for the remaining 30 percent. Chinese chefs and head waiters will arrive in our country at the beginning of next year. China will provide the restaurant with produce, condiments, and even the famous "Beijing duck" in semifinished form.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Olympic Games Protest Noted

PM2505134988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 May 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Condemnation of Slander"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 24 May—A DPRK Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued a statement condemning the campaign launched by the United States, Japan, and South Korea against the DPRK in connection with the forthcoming 1988 summer Olympic games.

The document, distributed by KCNA, draws attention to the fact that Washington and Tokyo are accusing Pyongyang in advance, without citing any proof, of an intention to resort to "terror" in order to impede the successful holding of the Olympic Games. Under the pretext of ensuring security at the games, the United States and Japan are planning to conduct joint military maneuvers in the region of the Korean peninsula. The intention of organizing the Olympic Games to the rumble of a military cannonade is in itself an open act of state terrorism placing the games in jeopardy, the statement points out. The Foreign Ministry spokesman expressed concern at the possibility of a sensational incident being fabricated in order to lay the responsibility for it at the feet of the DPRK, and demanded that the United States and Japan cease their military preparations, which are aggravating the situation in the Korean peninsula.

DPRK Table Tennis Coach Criticizes Japan

LD2505230288 Moscow TASS in English 2122 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Pyongyang May 25 TASS—A press conference with the participation of athletes of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was held here today on the initiative of the country's State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports. They had returned from Japan ahead of time where they had taken part in an Asian table tennis championship. According to press reports, they had been forced to return home because of hostile actions taken against them with the connivance of the Japanese authorities.

Li Chong-ho, coach of the table tennis team of North Korea, said at the press cenference that hosts of sports events should ensure favourable conditions for the participation of athletes in competitions irrespective of their political orientation, belief and a social system of their countries. However, on May 19 the Japanese authorities regarded the participation of North Korean athletes in an official dinner given in the city of Niigata by members of the lower chamber of parliament and activists of the League of Korean Citizens Living in Japan as the "violation of terms of the entry of the

country" and as "political activities." Moreover, representatives of the right-wing forces of Japan pounded with their fists at the windows of the bus in which the tennis players were going, thus threatening their safety.

"We had to return home, since we could not further take part in the championship because our country had been insulted and the Japanese authorities had hurled threats at us in violation of all the international standards," the coach said.

Answering questions of journalists, North Korean athletes said that those conditions had prevented them from showing a good performance at the championship. Concerning the charges brought by the Japanese authorities of the "violation of terms of the entry of the country," representatives of the team said that at the Japanese Consultate in Beijing where the team had made a stopover on their way to Japan no demands had been made to the North Korean athletes when they had been given visas.

Mongolian Foreign Minister Stops Over in Moscow

PM2405132188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Mongolian Foreign Minister M. Dugersuren stopped over in Moscow 21-22 May en route to Nicaragua for an official friendly visit.

Near East & South Asia

Vorontsov Briefs Press on Regional Issues

Cites Summit Agenda

LD2505162188 Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"At the Moscow summit meeting great attention will be paid to the settlement of regional conflicts", Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, told a press conference here today, replying to newsmen's questions.

"During the Iran-Iraq armed conflict the sides sustain heavy casualties. Therefore, an end to this war is one of the most urgent issues", Vorontsov said. Touching on the situation in the Middle East as a whole, Vorontsov stressed that "it is explosive in the greatest degree. The uprising by Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories demonstrates that the need is ripe to take urgent measures for settlement. This should be done without delay".

On the Cyprus problem, Vorontsov noted that it was always taken into consideration by the Soviet Union during international contacts and talks. The USSR raised it before the United States earlier proceeding from the premise that this involved regional conflict imperatively calls for solution.

"The United States backs away from a serious talk on this theme. However, we intend as before to put this issue on the agenda at meetings with the American side", Vorontsov emphasized.

Comments on Afghanistan, Pakistan

LD2505142488 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"After the Geneva accords came into force and the Soviet troops started to pull out from Afghanistan, the Pakistani side is trying to explore all kinds of avenues to back out of the agreements reached, evade the obligations assumed and prevents U.N. from exercising control," said Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR.

Speaking at a press conference on Afghanistan here, he noted that several days ago during a conversation in Moscow with Pakistan's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani, the latter assured that Pakistan would observe its obligations. "We would like to hope that that is so, but the facts so far testify to the contrary," the Soviet spokesman said. In this connection he drew attention to the pronouncements by the leader of fanatical fundamentalists Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, who told Afghan refugees in Zabol, Iran, that even from May 15 there would be no "interruptions" in the supplies of arms and ammunition to the opposition from Pakistani territory.

"To mislead the U.N. monitors," Yuliy Vorontsov said, "some groupings are moving inside the territory of Pakistan. Simultaneously, the units of separate groups are transferring their bases into the southern provinces of Afghanistan instead of the prescribed disarmament and internment. With the aiding and abetting of Pakistani authorities there has been recently a sharp increase in the movement of armed groups and hardware supplies for the antigovernment groups in Afghanistan. In the first half of this month, for example, 15 rebel units totalling some 1,800 people were moved to Afghanistan. Reports are openly published in Pakistan that convoys of hundreds of trucks loaded with arms and ammunition for the rebels are on their way from this country to Afghanistan."

Islamabad, he continued, denies the presence on its territory of the centres to train the Afghan armed opposition. But, according to reports reaching here, a training centre of Gulbuddin Hikmatyar's IPA [Islamic Party of Afghanistan] party, with some 1,600 rebels, continues to function in the area of Jamwar [place-name as received], Khyber Agency. Two new training centres at Haripur

and Bade Bira [place-name as received] camps with a total of several thousand Afghan rebels became operational near Peshawar in mid-April. A number of branches of the headquarters of the Afghan opposition were transferred from Quetta to the area of Yaru Karez, where under the guidance of foreign advisers, "divisions" of Afghan rebels are being formed and trained before moving them into the southern provinces of Afghanistan.

Serious obstacles are being erected in the way of Afghan refugees returning home, despite a separate agreement on this question.

"We told all this to the official representatives of the Pakistani side," Yuliy Vorontsov said, "and did not hear any denials because these facts are hard to refute. We expect the Pakistani side to take most decisive measures to implement all these provisions of the Geneva accords and not to permit their violation in future."

Having reminded that the Afghan side already sent four notes to the U.N. mission which point to the failure by the Pakistani side to abide by its obligations, the Soviet spokesman said: "Of course, if the Geneva accords are not fulfilled by the Pakistani side, we will react as the circumstances demand."

He then drew attention to the rumours that some opposition groups were transferring their bases to Iran.

"We have evidence showing that the USA approached Tehran in late April with a proposal to render through third countries the necessary financial and military aid to the Afghan opposition if Iran agreed to its transfer from the Pakistani bases to the camps in eastern Iran."

"To this," Yuliy Vorontsov said, "we have the following to say. First, the Iranian side itself will probably consider all aspects of this matter. Second, those countries which would start delivering arms to the rebels through Iran would themselves violate the principles of their policies in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf Zone, which they proclaim at the U.N. Security Council."

Noting that there are currently all possibilities for the national reconciliation in Afghanistan and for the creation of a broadly based coalition government, the Soviet spokesman pointed out that the leaders of the Afghan fundamentalists, who are still on Pakistani territory, are trying instead to impose a bloody civil war on the people of Afghanistan. Statements are being issued from Peshawar about "the war till final victory," about the offensive on Jalalabad, from which the Soviet troops had been withdrawn, and then on Kabul.

In this connection the Soviet spokesman reminded that the Afghan Government had forces which were by far superior to those of the fundamentalists. He refuted statements of the "Alliance of Seven" that after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops its forces allegedly occupied 18 regional centres and stressed that there had been no cases of any Afghan army units going over to its side. "The unwillingness of the Peshawar oppositon to give up hostilities and bloodshedding is evidence of its weakness: 'the alliance of seven' seems to have no hopes at all of winning under peaceful cooperation within the framework of the political dialogue between all Afghan sides," Yuliy Vorontsov said.

Lizichev Remarks

LD2605012588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1935 GMT 25 May 88

[Report on news conference by Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister; Army General Aleksey Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Army and Navy; and Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate; at the Soviet-U.S. Summit Press Center in Moscow on 25 May—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A news conference on the Afghanistan settlement took place today at the Moscow summit press center. Taking part in it were Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister, and Army General Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soivet Army and Navy. The news conference was conducted by Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate. In his statement to journalists, Yuliy Mikhaylovich Vorontsov said in part:

[Vorontsov] "The Geneva agreements have been rightly assessed throughout the world as a material embodiment of the new political thinking by which the Soviet Union is guided and which it recommends to all other countries. I have not heard a single government statement recently from anywhere in the world against the Geneva agreements. However, it must be said that a voice speaking against them has been heard. It has been heard from Peshawar, where the rebel Alliance of the Seven is entrenched. Only that group opposes the Geneva agreements. It seems to me that that is very, very revealing.

"As for the troop withdrawal itself, it is proceeding normally, without complications, although, of course, the appropriate amount of work was required on the part of the Soviet and Afghan military."

[Announcer] Comrade Vorontsov directed the journalists' attention to the following facts:

[Vorontsov] "With the connivance of Pakistani officials, there has recently been a sharp increase in the transfer to Afghanistan of armed units, materials, weapons and munitions for antigovernment groups. Islamabad denies the presence of training centers for the Afghan armed opposition on its territory. However, here are just a few facts. According to reports reaching here, a training center belonging to the IPA [Islamic Party of Afghanistan], at which some 1,600 rebels are being trained, is still functioning in the (Jamkhwar) area of Khyber

Agency. Two new training centers, at the Haripur and (Bade Bira) camps, where a total of several thousand Afghan rebels are being trained, became operational not far from Peshawar in mid-April. Some of the branches of the headquarters of the Afghan opposition have been transferred from Quetta to the Yaru Karez area, that is, 60 km from the Pakistani town of Quetta. There, under the guidance of foreign adivsers, divisions of Afghan rebels are being formed and trained at top speed before being moved into the southern provinces of Afghanistan.

"Serious obstacles continue to be put in the way of the return of Afghan refugees to their homeland. Thus, since the Geneva agreements went into effect and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began, the Pakistani side has been trying to find all possible ways of evading the accords reached."

[Announcer] The USSR first deputy foreign minister also noted in his address:

[Vorontsov] "We have evidence showing that the United States approached Tehran at the end of April, stating its readiness to provide the necessary financial and military aid to the Afghan opposition via third countries so long as Iran agreed to the aid transfer from Pakistani bases to camps in eastern Iran.

"A few words about the political significance of the events now taking place in Afghanistan. When the Geneva agreements went into effect, they turned a new page in Afghan history—away from war and toward peace. At the same time, thoughts in Afghanistan among the overwhelming majority of people are also now turning toward peace. Questions of national reconciliation and the creation of a broadly based coalition government are coming to the fore. The opportunities for this are there. The work to create such a government can be carried out, and carried out energetically.

"However, the leaders of the Afghan fundamentalist fanatics, who are still on Pakistani territory, are trying instead to impose a bloody civil war on the people of Afghanistan. I think these lovers of a trial of strength will be cruelly mistaken in their calculations. The Government of the Republic of Afghanistan has forces, considerable forces. I would say that they far exceed those that are at the disposal of the fundamentalist fanatics."

[Announcer] Army Gen Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, announced in his address:

[Lizichev] "As of today, that is, as of 25 May, 9,500 officers and men have returned to the motherland, and about 1,000 units of military equipment have left. The Soviet military units and formations that are returning home will be stationed in the areas of their previous deployment in various parts of the Soviet Union or they will be disbanded. Personnel who have completed their statutory period of service will be released into the reserves. I think everyone is now convinced that the principled decision on the withdrawal of Soviet troops was a firm one and is being carried out strictly. Our measures in connection with Afghanistan are an expression of the new political thinking that has also determined new approaches to the problems of war, peace, and security in light of the realities of the nuclear age. They are also being implemented in the spirit of the new Soviet military doctrine, which is exclusively defensive in character and presupposes all possible assistance for the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts by political means.

"The stay of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan has contributed to eliminating the external threat to the territorial integrity and independence of that sovereign state. Our military presence has helped to create favorable preconditions for the implementation of the national reconciliation policy. Quite a lot has been done to raise the fighting efficiency of the Afghan Armed Forces. Additionally, Soviet troops have rendered material, medical, and other kinds of assistance to the local population. The Soviet soldiers are leaving Afghanistan with a sense of having honorably discharged their duty. On Afghan soil, they experienced stern trials and displayed selfless courage and the best human qualities.

"While welcoming those of their sons who are returning from Afghanistan, our people hold sacred the memory of those who laid down their lives during the execution of their military and internationalist duty. You know that military action is military action: It inevitably involves losses. These losses are considerable. In all, we lost in Afghanistan, by the beginning of May this year, 13,310 men killed, 35,478 wounded, and 311 missing. I wish to say that our people, party, and government are expressing their care and consideration for the families and loved ones of those who died, for the invalids, and for the wounded. We are taking, and will continue to take, all measures to establish the fate of every Soviet soldier who is missing. We will also facilitate the return to the motherland of those who, for one reason or another, are in the hands of the rebels or are abroad."

[Announcer] At this point, those taking part in the news conference answered journalists' questions. It was stressed that the Soviet troops had been invited by the Afghan Government and that fact was not open to any reappraisal. The circumstances that prompted the Afghan Government to invite our troops had to be evaluated from the standpoint of the specific conditions of that time.

Asked whether obstacles might arise to the further withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, Army Gen Lizichev said that the troop withdrawal timetable is guaranteed in all respects, so that no disruption will be permitted.

A question was also asked about whether Soviet military advisers will remain in Afghanistan after 15 February 1989. Gen Lizichev said that that depends on the Afghan Government. If such a request is made, it will be considered.

Further on Withdrawal

PM2605110988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Captain Second Class V. Kocherov: "Afghanistan: Observe the Geneva Agreements"]

[Text] On 25 May a news conference was held at the Soviet-U.S. summit press center on the topic of the fulfillment of the Geneva Afghan settlement agreements. Taking part in the news conference were Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

In his address to journalists, Yu.M. Vorontsov noted that the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan is proceeding normally and according to plan. Attempts to complicate the withdrawal of units from the Jalalabad region have been thwarted. Yu.M. Vorontsov reminded those present of a number of provisions of the Geneva Afghan settlement agreements and cited concrete evidence of their violation by the Pakistani side. In the first half of this month, 15 rebel detachments numbering around 2,000 men have been transferred into Afghanistan. Training centers for armed Afghan opposition detachments continue to operate on Pakistani territory and an Afghan rebel "division" has been formed and is being trained for transfer to Afghanistan's southern provinces. Thus, the Pakistani side is trying to find different ways to bypass the accords and to shirk the commitments it has assumed. If the Geneva agreements are not fulfilled by the Pakistani side, Yu.M. Vorontsov stressed, we shall respond in the way that circumstances demand. The USSR Foreign Ministry representative also pointed out the danger posed by talk of transferring some opposition groupings' bases to Iran.

Army Gen A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, addressed the journalists. He informed them that the Soviet actions regarding Afghanistan are being carried out in the spirit of the new Soviet military doctrine, which is exclusively defensive in character and proposes doing everything possible to promote the settlement of regional conflicts by political means. Army Gen A.D. Lizichev characterized the Soviet troops' presence in Afghanistan as defending that sovereign state against external threat. He cited specific instances of help given by Soviet troops to the local population. As of today, 9,500 Soviet servicemen have returned to the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and around 1,000 items of combat hardware have been withdrawn.

We are paying special attention, Army Gen A.D. Lizichev noted, to the families of those who died and are making the necessary efforts to investigate the cases of those missing in action. He reported that by the beginning of May 1988 the USSR had lost 13,310 men killed in Afghanistan, 35,478 had been wounded, and 311 were missing.

Answers were given to journalists' questions.

Question: Has the concept of "internationalist duty" changed in connection with the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan?

Answer: No, it has not. The situation in Afghanistan has changed. A policy of national reconciliation has begun operating which has made it possible to begin the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from that country's territory.

Question: Do you think the United States is fulfilling its commitments as guarantor of the Geneva agreements?

Answer: If you look at the repeated U.S. statements you may conclude that Washington is trying to pour oil on the fire by supplying the Afghan rebels with weapons. There have been specific instances illustrating the way the opposition sometimes uses those weapons. At the end of April, members of the opposition sold 33 Stinger missiles to a group of smugglers from Iran operating in Baluchistan.

Question: How will the problem of protecting the USSR's southern borders be resolved in the future, and will the opponents of reconciliation take measures to hinder the Soviet troops' withdrawal?

Answer: The Soviet Armed Forces have the ability to reliably safeguard the security of our southern borders even after the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan. The withdrawal timetable has been well thought-out and supported. Those who try to wreck it will be most resolutely crushed.

Question: How will the situation develop for the Soviet military advisers in Afghanistan after 15 February [1989]?

Answer: It will largely depend on that country's government whether there are Soviet military advisers in Afghanistan after 15 February.

Answers were given to other questions from journalists.

Youth Paper Report

PM2605124988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 May 88 p 3

[Report by TASS correspondents A. Petrovskiy and V. Shishlin: "Strictly Observing Commitments"]

[Excerpts] What is being done now and what needs to be done to strictly carry out the Geneva agreements on an Afghan settlement? This was discussed at a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists held on 25 May at the Soviet-American summit press center. [passage omitted]

So far 9,500 Soviet troops have returned to the Soviet Union from Afghanistan and around 1,000 items of combat equipment have been withdrawn, Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, announced on taking the floor.

The Soviet Union's actions in relation to Afghanistan, he said, are being implemented in the spirit of the new Soviet military doctrine which is entirely defensive and presupposes promoting in every way the settlement of regional conflicts by political means. Concerning the Soviet troops' stay in Afghanistan, the army general stressed that it contributed to the elimination of the external threat to the sovereign state's territorial integrity and independence. The USSR's military presence in Afghanistan helped to establish favorable prerequisites for the implementation of the national reconciliation policy. A great deal was done to improve the Afghan Armed Forces' combat capability. Moreover, Soviet forces gave material, medical, and other forms of assistance to the local population.

The Soviet people honor the memory of their sons who gave their lives carrying out their international military duty in Afghanistan, A.D. Lizichev stressed. He announced that, in all, the USSR had lost in Afghanistan, by the beginning of May 1988, 13,310 killed, 35,478 wounded, and 311 missing. In this connection, he said that the Soviet Union is taking and will continue to take in the future every step to ascertain the fate of every missing serviceman.

Yu.M. Vorontsov was asked to explain what practical conclusions the USSR intended to draw from Pakistan's behavior. He pointed out that the Soviet side had discussed all these matters with Pakistani officials. First we want explanations from them. Our future actions will depend on what their explanations are. By and large, we believe there is a responsible leadership in Pakistan which knew what it was doing when it signed the commitments contained in the Geneva documents.

In reply to the question whether the United States, as guarantor of the Geneva agreements, was fulfilling its commitments, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated that the USSR had noticed repeated statements by the United States from which it is possible to conclude that Washington wants to add fuel to the fire by supplying Afghan rebels with weapons.

It was noted at the news conference that a great deal of attention will be devoted at the Moscow summit to questions of the settlement of other regional conflicts.

A.D. Lizichev rejected suggestions that the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan could affect the security of the USSR's southern borders. He stressed that our Armed Forces will be able to safeguard the security of the Soviet Union's southern borders after the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan.

The army general replied in the negative when asked whether the substance of the concept of "international duty" had changed in connection with the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. The conditions and the situation have changed, he said. It was the policy of national reconciliation conducted by the Afghan leadership that enabled us to make the decision to withdraw Soviet forces.

Akhromeyev Gives Figures on Afghan Contingent

LD2605085188 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—The contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan amounted to 100,300 by May 15, 1988. This was stated at a press conference here today by first deputy defence minister, chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev.

The Soviet Union has by now withdrawn from Afghanistan 9,500 men, 70 helicopters and over 1,000 units of various military equipment, he said, answering questions.

Afghan Pullout Staged Under 'Complex' Conditions

PM2505090388 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 88 p 1

[Special correspondent Gennadiy Bocharov dispatch: "The Soldiers Are Returning Home..."—boldface italics as published]

[Text] ***The withdrawal of Soviet military subunits from Afghanistan continues. The last combat posts covering the movement of our units have been withdrawn from the Jalalabad-Kabul highway sector. The Afghan Armed Forces have totally taken over control over one of the republic's strategic highways.***

Kabul—Let me cite the words of the commander of the contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. When I asked him if there were any grounds to fear that the reliable security measures taken during the movement of the first combat convoys from Jalalabad have now been relaxed and subsequent units will protect themselves

against possible strikes by the opposition only by their own means, Lieutenant General B. Gromov replied: "There are no grounds for such fears. Cover for all our convoys without exception will be provided by maximum fire power. Not a single subunit, not a single soldier in a convoy will be defenseless in the face of the extremists. Furthermore, every military subunit as such is sufficiently capable to repel any enemy actions."

Now, about the enemy actions. They have acquired a constant feature in the past 10 days—it is not the convoys but combat posts and outposts covering the movements that come under fire. These are perhaps the most dangerous and most difficult military service postings right now. I visited some of our units and learned some details about the latest combat episodes.

The command point of one of the outposts which we passed with the convoy from Jalalabad came under fire, and the radio antenna was damaged. Communications with the subunits were temporarily disrupted. Under heavy enemy fire and disregarding the deadly danger, crew commander Junior Sergeant A. Volgin and driver Sergeant A. Zhavchunov restored communications in the shortest possible time.

At another outpost, Junior Sergeant N. Stebchenko and two enlisted men—I. Myagkov and V. Sheleg—were wounded by enemy fire. None of them abandoned his position, however, and they fired back. Shortly afterward, Private First Class D. Kislenko was wounded in the same action. He also remained in his position. (Let me mention that the servicemen's health is perfectly satisfactory. Their lives are not in danger.)

And now a different set of facts. I learned them from perfectly trustworthy sources.

Some 64 enemy detachments numbering a total of about 1,500 men are concentrated in one sector along our units' route. They are mainly forces from the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, the most extremist grouping in the "Alliance of Seven." Ammunition stores are being built up to fire on the Gardeyz-Kabul highway. According to reports just in, 1,000 rocket projectiles [reaktivnyy snaryad] have been delivered by caravans to Arghandab District. Security organs in Musai [name as published] District have captured surface-to surface missile launchers meant to be used to shell Kabul.

Oppositionists in Konduz Province have started selling badges at 20,000 afghanis each, promising badge-owners that they "will not be subjected to repression after the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

A few days ago the population center of Robat, located at the juncture of the borders of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran, was named by opposition leaders as the place where the so-called "transitional government" will be located.

Positive changes are taking place at the same time. For example, the population in many provinces is expressing open dissatisfaction with the oppositionists' actions and their calls for fratricidal war and is refusing to take part in attacks against withdrawing Soviet subunits. Armed groups of oppositionists have ceased combat operations in some places. This can, of course, be interpreted any way you like—even as an attempt to preserve their strength for the future squabbles for influence among those same "brothers."

Even these examples show clearly the complex conditions in which the republic's government has to act. Nor is it difficult to see who is interested in breaching the Geneva agreements.

Yesterday I met Major General A. Zakharov, chief of our military contingent's political department. On entering his office on the outskirts of Kabul I saw splinters of glass on the floor, the desk, and the window sill. The general was standing behind his desk and looking puzzled at the smashed window. He looked at me and said: "An accident, of course. But a bullet nonetheless."

Rebel Shelling Continues in Jaji Meydan

LD2505203388 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Kabul May 25 TASS—Missile shelling of the city of Meymaneh, Faryab Province, and of the administrative centre of the Jaji Meydan district of Paktia Province has brought about more anti-government groups killed two and wounded 11 people, the BAKHTAR news agency reports. [sentence as received] The direct hitting of a projectile destroyed the main mosque of the Jaji Meydan district.

A jirgah of a number of Pashtun trobes and clans was held in Gardeyz, Paktia. Its participants decided to promote the fulfilment of the Geneva accords and the discontinuation of hostilities on the territory of the province. Representatives of Pashtuns pledged to cooperate with the authorities in promoting the return home of refugees and their transportation to native places.

The Red Crescent Society of Afghanistan rendered assistance to Kabul residents affected by the missile shelling of the city by the armed opposition forces. Those who sustained considerable material losses were given clothes, footwear, blankets, as well as money for the resoration of their destroyed dwellings.

Situation at 'Crucial' Afghan Outpost Described

LD2505213788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 25 May 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan continues. Our correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy reports:

[Leshchinskiy] For the 2d week Afghan roads, especially this one, have been the location for our television crews. [video shows Soviet armored personnel carriers moving along road]. This road stretches 600 km from the Afghan town of Jalalabad near the Pakistani border via Kabul and the mountain pass of Salang, ending at the Soviet town of Termez. Convoys of Soviet motorized rifle troops have passed along this road for the second consecutive week Sentry posts and outposts such as this are left on the road: The entire span of a soldier's service in Afghanistan—a year, 18 months, or even 2 years—could very often be spent at such outposts. The last mail was delivered here today—newspapers and letters. This mail is the last, because by tonight the personnel of the Soviet outposts will leave it and hand it over to soldiers of the Afghan Army.

As you can see, the outpost is being left in perfect order. It has a full supply of ammunition, well-equipped observation posts, firing positions, and sentry posts. Afghan and Soviet servicemen stand in the same formation for the last time, here at this outpost, which is situated at a road of crucial economic importance. After all, large amounts of foodstuffs and various consignments, even from abroad, pass along here.

[Leshchinskiy addresses Afghan officer] Comrade Captain, you are aware of the danger of rebels cutting off this road and thus significantly worsening the economic situation in the central areas of the country. How do you assess that danger and are you ready to face it?

[Captain Abdul Wahab—identified by caption; in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] We are aware of the significance of this road, Captain Abdul Wahab said. Indeed, the enemy plans to seize it. But our soldiers now have good weapons and skills, and as long as we live the enemy will not be able to achieve his objective. And, the captain continued, after the Soviet troops leave we will be able to defend our people and our motherland ourselves.

Former Afghan Refugees Recount Experiences

PM2405152988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[Dispatch by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondents Lieutenant Colonel V. Nikanorov, Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik, Major N. Burbyga, and A. Yefimov: "Years in a Foreign Land"]

[Excerpts] Jalalabad-Kabul—We were in Jalalabad's "Mir" Hotel. Those who have recently returned home from Pakistan have found temporary refuge here. There are many of them. There were people everywhere—by the dilapidated high fence, by the tents, under the spreading boughs of the blossoming acacia.

"All these people arrived yesterday," Zugurullah, the hotel manager, said. "We are expecting another group today."

A young guy came up to us. He held out an emaciated hand. We introduced ourselves: His name was Habibullah. He had not left his homeland for political reasons. He was serving in the Army. Bandits captured his family and threatened reprisals. Succumbing to their pressure, he left his unit and went to Pakistan. He spent 7 years there. We inquired: Was it difficult to return home? I didn't succeed at the first attempt, our new acquaintance told us. The refugees encountered a gang at the border instead of Pakistani border guards. The bandits beat them and drove them back. A few days later Habibullah made another attempt to leave. This time he was successful. He doesn't know what has happened to his relatives.

We heard from many people whom we talked to here that the homeward journey was not not easy. Even after 15 May there are still artificial barriers in the way of those wishing to return home. Whereas previously, before the Geneva agreements took effect, Iranian and Pakistani authorities prevented the refugees from returning, today it is primarily the Afghan opposition that is doing so. You can find much confirmation of this. [passage omitted]

...In Kabul we met with Sayyid Ahmad. He left his native Ghazni Province 5 years ago and went to Pakistan with a great stream of refugees. At first he lived in a camp, in a leaky tent. Within a few months he realized that he wouldn't last long there. He decided to try his luck somewhere else. He finally succeeded in crossing into Iran. But, as the saying goes, he got out of the frying pan into the fire. He was conscripted for the "holy war for Islam in Afghanistan" along with a group of young guys.

Sayyid Ahmad found himself in a special sabotage school on the outskirts of Tehran. At one time there were approximately 1,200 students there, ranging in age from 17 to 40. Demolition work and tactics were studied in training classes. A great deal of attention was devoted to the situation in Afghanistan and to questions of the "defense of Islam." All the classes, Sayyid said, were conducted by career Iranian Army officers. After 3 months of training he was sent on a "probationary tour of duty" on the Iran-Iraq front, where he was involved in Iranian Army combat operations. After his "probationary tour of duty" they began to train Sayyid for transfer to the Iranian-Afghan border. Last summer, as part of a group of 20 men, he crossed into Herat Province. A few days later six men left the nocturnal stopping place as they did not want to fight their own people. Soon he, too, left the gang for the same reason.

"I am now a full citizen of the Republic of Afghanistan," Said Ahmad said, proudly showing us the brand-new passport which he had obtained from the Kabul Repatriates Affairs Directorate. "But my heart still bleeds for my compatriots who are still in a foreign country. Nonetheless, I believe the day will come when all Afghans return to their land..."

Afghanistan's Wakil Stops Over Before Cuban Trip

LD2605095288 Moscow TASS in English 0640 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 26 TASS—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil arrived in Moscow May 25 en route from Kabul to Havana where he will attend a meeting of the Non-aligned Movement's Coordinating Bureau.

Al-Qadhdhafi Recognizes Habre Government

LD2605125588 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] Tripoli May 26 TASS—Mu'ammar Al-Qadhdhafi the leader of the Libyan revolution, has declared his intention to settle all the problems between Libya and Chad in a "friendly and fraternal manner". Addressing a meeting with African diplomats in Tripoli he said that Libya considers the war in Chad to be over and recognises the government of Hissein Habre. This move, the JANA agency said, has been timed to the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Organization of African Unity.

Mu'ammar al-Qadhdafi offered Chad aid in restoring the facilities destroyed and damaged during the war and said that the Chadian POW's kept by the Libyan side will be handed over to the OAU.

The leader of the Libyan revolution urged Hissein Habre and the military-political groups in opposition to him to hold in Tripoli talks on national reconciliation in Tripoli. He said that the Libyan Jamahiriyah would not meddle in Chad's home affairs.

Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi announced that Libya has decided to restore diplomatic relations with eight African states, which were broken off earlier.

Ryzhkov Greets Soviet-Indian Conference

PM2505101188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[Message from Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, "to the participants in the conference 'Mutual Influence and Ties Between the Peoples of India and the USSR in Various Fields Throughout the Centuries to the Present Day'"; date not given]

[Text] I cordially greet the participants in the conference being held in Moscow within the framework of the India Festival in the USSR and devoted to the history of relations between our peoples and to their cultural ties.

The roots of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India, their strong spiritual bonds, and mutual friendliness are buried in hoary antiquity. The fruitful process of mutual enrichment of two unique cultures which, although different, experience a mutual attraction has been going on since time immemorial. We have known the road from the Volga to the Ganges for many centuries.

Great October, which gave a powerful boost to the awakening of the peoples held in thrall by colonialism, opened a new era in relations between the peoples of the USSR and India. V.I. Lenin, the leader of our revolution, prophetically foretold the victory of the Indian national liberation movement. India's emergence onto the path of independent development was also a landmark in Soviet-Indian cooperation. Today it represents a major factor for peace and stability not only in Asia but also on a global scale.

The broad peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and India are of tremendous significance for the development of positive processes in international politics and for ensuring universal security. The Delhi Declaration made an invaluable contribution to the philosophy of the new thinking. The world situation has recently changed for the better. A start has been made. This must now be strengthened and the path which leads to oblivion and to mankind's nuclear self-destruction must be firmly barred.

I am convinced that the profound and multifaceted Soviet-Indian relations will continue to develop dynamically and steadfastly in an upward direction. I wholeheartedly wish the conference participants success in the noble cause of strengthening the friendship and cooperation between our peoples.

N. Ryzhkov

Meeting Opens

PM2505140388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "USSR-India: Bridges of Friendship"]

[Text] The Soviet-Indian festivals, which demonstrate the profound and sincere interest of our countries' working people in each other, serve the ideals of peace, good, and mutual understanding. A conference entitled "Mutual Influence and Ties Between the Peoples of India and the USSR in Various Fields Throughout the Centuries to the Present Day" opened in Moscow 23 May within the framework of these friendship festivals. For 4 days, prominent representatives of the humanities and social sciences and the creative intelligentsia will discuss problems connected with various aspects of Soviet-Indian cooperation.

The assembled representatives applauded the greetings message to the conference participants from N.I. Ryzhkov, USSR Council of Ministers chairman. V.G. Zakharov, chairman of the Soviet festival organizing committee and USSR minister of culture, read out the message.

In his speech, the minister stressed that the conference is a new contribution to the scientific interpretation of the rich history of the multifaceted ties between our countries and peoples, to which both festivals have added truly unique pages. Representatives of science and culture will once again be addressing a significant phenomenon of history and the present—Soviet-Indian friendship. Those great figures of the 20th century V.I. Lenin and Mahatma Gandhi built new relations between our peoples and states on the reliable foundation of traditional ties. Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi contributed greatly to consolidating this friendship. Now cooperation between the USSR and India is scaling qualitatively new heights thanks to the firm consistent and creative policy of both countries' leaders and is showing the world a living example of the new political thinking in action.

The close of the India festival in the USSR is not far off. Without going so far as to sum up its results, it is already safe to say that the festival has in many respects assisted our people to rediscover this ancient and beautiful country and to better grasp and understand the spiritual world of its people. We sincerely hope the USSR festival in India, which is now at its peak, will also successfully perform its humanist mission.

P.V. Narasimha Rao, chairman of the Indian national organizing committee of the festival and minister of human resources development, was given the floor. He read out the message from Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi to the conference participants, which was greeted with applause.

The message noted, in particular, that the conference is especially topical in view of the recent initiatives to strengthen Indian-Soviet relations and joint work in the name of a peaceful and a nonviolent future in the spirit of the Delhi Declaration.

In his speech P.V. Narasimha Rao said that India and the Soviet Union have witnessed for almost a year a colossal spectacle which has enabled them to form an impression of each other's life and culture. As knowledge of each other deepens, so the ties between the two countries and peoples rest on an increasingly firm foundation.

The next speaker, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, said that India holds a special, priority place in Soviet foreign policy. Soviet-Indian relations can without exaggeration be called exemplary in every sense; from the very beginning they have been based on trust, equality, mutual respect, and sympathy between the peoples of both countries, and mutual consideration of each other's interests.

What M.S. Gorbachev figuratively described as "the diplomacy of the people's masses" has played an enormous role in asserting the moral and ethical principles of international contact. We have been pioneers in this new work, as it were. The sweeping Soviet-Indian friendship festivals, in which millions of people in both countries have already taken part, testify to this.

Academician V.A. Kotelnikov, vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, dwelt in detail on the history of Soviet-Indian cooperation in the scientific sphere. A qualitatively new period in friendly relations between our countries, the scientist said, began as a result of the accords reached during the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Gandhi and the signing of the historic Delhi Declaration. A Comprehensive Long-Term Program of Cooperation in the Sphere of Science and Technology was set up, covering areas where there are already very significant achievements in joint work, such as, for example, space research, and also new directions and problems.

The peoples of the USSR and India have long entertained profound feelings of mutual respect and affection, Yu.I. Smirnov, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, noted. The public associations to develop and strengthen contacts created in the USSR and India have now become mass organizations, and cooperation has found ardent supporters in our countries and has become a truly popular movement. Friendship societies work in the very heart of the masses.

T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the USSR, also spoke at the opening of the conference.

Reports were delivered by E. Goncalves, director of the Indian International Center, and M.S. Kapitsa, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute.

On the same day at the "Gosudarstvennaya Treyakovskaya Galereya" All-Union Museum Association an exhibition was opened entitled "Friendship—Dosti: The Link Between the Peoples of India and the USSR Over the Centuries." Its Soviet and Indian organizers have managed to embody the spiritual phenomenon of friendship in works of art, historical objects, and everyday items. A copy of the Delhi Declaration—a document uniting history and the future and having great significance for the victory of the principles of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world—is one of the exhibits.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Activities Mark 25th Anniversary of OAU

Demichev Addresses Meeting

PM2505144188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report under general heading: "To Mark Jubilee"]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of the capital's public to mark Africa Liberation Day and the week of solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa was held in Moscow on 24 May at the House of Unions Hall of Columns.

This particular day is especially notable. As Ya.Ya. Vagris, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium pointed out, the OAU is 25 years old. The OAU has made an enormous contribution to the struggle of the continent's peoples against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid and for the consolidation of national gains. It has also done much to establish good-neighborly relations and cooperation between African countries.

The doyen of the African diplomatic corps in Moscow, Senegalese Ambassador P.A. Sane, said that the great importance which the Soviet Union attaches to this day, which we are now celebrating, is concrete evidence of its support for the cause of Africa's liberation. He stressed that the continent's peoples are grateful to the USSR for this.

Those assembled adopted a message to the OAU.

The meeting was attended by the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations, the heads of the diplomatic missions of a number of African states, and foreign guests.

On the same day, to mark the notable date, P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, held a reception for the heads of the diplomatic missions of African states accredited in Moscow and for delegations that had come to the USSR to celebrate Africa Liberation Day and to take part in the events of the week of solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa.

Addressing the reception, P.N. Demichev noted that in its 25-year life, the OAU, through tireless action in the interests of the African peoples and in favor of a just solution to pressing world problems, has won itself deservedly great prestige and has taken its place as one of the most representative international organizations. He stressed the consistency of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which builds its relations with African countries on the basis of Lenin's principles of mutual respect, sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and equal and mutually advantageous cooperation.

P.A. Sane delivered a reply speech.

The reception passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Ryuytel Leads Delegation

PM2505104388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Departure for Celebrations in Ethiopia"]

[Text] A USSR state delegation headed by A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow for Addis Ababa on 23 May to take part in celebrations marking the 25th anniversary of the OAU.

Zambian President Views International Issues

PM2505084388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia and chairman of the OAU, by PRAVDA correspondent V. Tyurkin in Lusaka under the "Our Interviews" rubric: "Beginning of a New Era"; date not given—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Kenneth Kaunda, president of the Republic of Zambia and chairman of the OAU, answers questions from a PRAVDA correspondent.

Lusaka, May—Question: This May has been marked by progress in efforts to settle regional conflicts. The whole world is talking about Afghanistan. For the first time in many years, there has been definite movement in talks on the conflict in southern Africa. What is your assessment of this?

Answer. The question you have raised is extremely important. People everywhere—East and West, North and South—want to live and develop in peace. Everyone wants this. Take nuclear weapons—if they go off, not a single area of the planet or a single village will survive.

Much in this world depends on the two great powers—the USSR and the United States. In my opinion, the problems facing the world, including many regional conflicts, cannot be resolved without them and their allies. I would go further—this cannot be done without the involvement of two men, two leaders—Comrade Gorbachev in the Soviet Union and President Reagan in the United States. I personally am praying that the Moscow summit will be as successful as the previous meetings. Everyone will gain from this—President Kaunda, ordinary citizens, and Africa as a whole. All continents will gain. This is no exaggeration. It is a fact. I wish them success in achieving peace.

Today we see a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan taking place and we see the problems of southern Africa being discussed—first in London and then in Brazzaville. I have just sent messages—one to Comrade Gorbachev, and the other to President Reagan—making a high assessment of their contribution to the cause of peace and wishing them success at the Moscow talks. I believe the path they have chosen is the right one in our troubled world.

Two systems exist—capitalism and socialism. We Zambians, like you in the Soviet Union, follow the path of socialism. Your approach is based on the concept of communism, ours on humanism, but like you we are essentially joining battle with the common enemies of mankind.

Comrade Gorbachev's philosophy affects the life of everyone on earth. The revolution he has begun is based on love for people. He wants peace for Muscovites, he

wants peace for the USSR, he wants peace for America, he wants peace for all of us. To me, this seems to be the start of a new era. It was Gorbachev who opened the way for the new thinking and initiated the second phase of revolution in the Soviet Union, a revolution which affects the destiny of mankind.

We are deeply indebted to Comrade Gorbachev for solving the problems facing all of us. Afghanistan may serve as an example.

Question: We are on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the OAU. How do you, as chairman of the OAU, assess its role in settling conflicts in Africa and in promoting economic progress on the continent?

Answer: Africa is a part of the world that suffered the greatest tragedy in human history—the slave trade. Some historians believe that Africa at that time lost more than 50 million people. This rocked the continent and destroyed its social structure. Then it fell victim to colonialism. The destruction of our society continued. The process of decolonization is not over, for the struggle in southern Africa is an extension of it. Apartheid kills people not only in South Africa and not only in Namibia, but also in Angola and Mozambique. The racists organize raids on Zambia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe, sowing death and destruction.

Africa's problems are complicated by the fact that we inherited artificial borders from the colonialists. Take Zambia. It is surrounded by eight other countries. There are divided peoples on all our borders without exception. Hence the conflicts.

What does the OAU want? The task of liberating South Africa and Namibia is part of the anticolonial struggle. We will never accept apartheid! No matter what respectable garb certain Western powers who support apartheid try to clothe it in, we in Africa will never compromise with it. Apartheid must end its illegal occupation of Namibia. We are struggling for this. The organization has helped many of us to gain independence. The OAU takes an active part in settling problems between Libya and Chad, Somalia and Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya, and so on. We do this to further liberate the continent.

Our foreign debt is the major component of our economic problems. The children, men, and women suffering from malnutrition and starvation are victims of the burden of debt. We pay in starvation, ignorance, crime, corruption, and exploitation of man by man. The complexities are aggravated by the unjust economic order in the world today. The developed North obtains what we produce literally for almost nothing. We have to sell copper, cotton, cocoa, and soybeans at an extreme loss. If this continues, say, in 5 years or so there will be a disaster in Africa. The imperfect world economic order is the root of the problem.

Question: Zambia is experiencing serious economic difficulties. How do you hope to overcome them?

Answer: Zambia is part of Africa and the picture I painted before fully applies to it, as well.

When the revolution triumphed and we came to power, the situation was as follows: We used copper revenues to build primary and secondary schools, colleges, and two universities. We constructed roads and built bridges, airfields, hospitals, and clinics—throughout the country. But oil prices, which have risen many times since 1973, and unfavorable market conditions punched a tremendous hole in the budget. Since then we have been struggling to make ends meet. And we have had floods and droughts on top of that.

Today we have embarked on fulfillment of a transitional national development plan. It is conceived so as to enable us to begin economic development afresh, as it were. The stress is being laid on our own strengths and resources, but we do not reject outside help; we are not isolationists. We realize that we live, as you say, "in an interdependent world." We rely on cooperation with friendly countries and organizations. I hope that we will be able to see some results of our efforts by the end of the year. We are hoping for success.

East Europe

MSZMP Conference, Leadership 'Renewal' Viewed

PM2505134188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[Report by Vladimir Gerasimov under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Renewal"]

[Text] Budapest—Events of fundamental importance have taken place in Hungary: The Hungarian national party conference adopted a decision on restructuring and the improvement of the system of the country's political institutions and elected a new party leadership.

The party leadership was partly altered 3 years ago at the 13th MSZMP Congress. Why has this become necessary again? The aggravated economic difficulties demanded that a program be elaborated and adopted for using all the potential of society and considerably increasing the competitiveness of industrial articles. That is, it was essential to set in motion the working people's creative, spiritual forces. Life itself required the rejuvenation of the leadership and cadres regroupings.

The conference did not cast doubt on the fact that Janos Kadar has historic services to Hungary to his credit. The importance and vividness of his personality, in my view, are abiding. The consolidation of the country and society after the 1956 counterrevolution, the policy of national unity, the implementation of the cooperative movement in the countryside, the practical embodiment of economic and commodity-money forms of administration

in the socialist planned economic management, the multiple-mandate parliamentary electoral system and the election of directors and councils of working people at enterprises—in the past 3 decades the MSZMP has implemented and verified all this without retreating from Marxist-Leninist principles. A number of the MSZMP's concepts have exerted and continue to exert influence on restructuring in other socialist countries. Janos Kadar will be 76 on 26 May. The new post of MSZMP president to which the conference elected him is an honorable one. The conference stated that the party and country will continue to need his experience and advice.

One-third of the new Central Committee has been renewed. It has 108 members and there are now twice as many workers as in the previous Central Committee and the younger generation of Communists is also more widely represented. There are 11 people instead of 13 in the new Politburo. Only five of the previous members have remained. To be more specific about the concept of "renewal" which is now being widely used in the Hungarian press in describing the party leadership, I shall say that the new Politburo has two members aged 40, two who are under 50, and only two who are over 60. Two women have also joined the top leadership.

For the time being Karoly Grosz, the 58-year-old MSZMP general secretary, also remains chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. The fulfillment of the stabilization program has only just begun, there are certain advances, and time is needed to hand over unfinished business.

The Hungarian national party conference formulated a new concept: The party, in opposing any attempts to weaken the people's power, will correct its activity, expanding glasnost, using socialist pluralism, and considering the opinions of different groups and organizations of the population. The role of public and mass organizations is being enhanced. They are the party's partners. Tasks are also being divided more precisely between the party and state apparatuses. There will be a reform of political institutions, without which the economic reform cannot continue.

The burden of cares is heavy. There is a difficult path ahead. It is the path of the renewal of Hungary and all society. The Communists are advancing along it with persistence and faith in their success.

Resolution Summarized

PM2505105188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 May 88 p 9

[V. Stefanov dispatch under the rubric "Document": "The Party in a One-Party System"—boldface as published]

[Text] Budapest—The Hungarian National Party Conference has ended in Budapest. The MSZMP Central Committee and Central Control Commission were elected by secret ballot. A Central Committee plenum elected a new Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee. Janos Kadar was elected chairman of the MSZMP, and Karoly Grosz was elected general secretary.

We publish excerpts from the resolution adopted by the party conference.

...The population is expressing growing dissatisfaction with the stagnation in economic and social development and the increasing difficulties; moods in society have deteriorated; the population has less trust in the party and the leadership.

Responsibility for the prevailing situation lies with the Central Committee and its executive organs, as well as with the government and its institutions... The party conference deems it necessary to continue and accelerate the process of social and economic reform. Since the MSZMP plays a leading role in the conditions of the prevailing one-party system, the renewal of the party's work is the starting point of an all-embracing reform.

The party must strengthen the political nature of its work... The party must not take on functions that properly belong to state and public organizations...

The main task at present is to strengthen and more widely develop internal party democracy... It is necessary to change the election system within the party... Elections at all levels must be secret. Several candidates must be nominated wherever party members so demand.

...It is necessary to constantly renew the ideological, political, organizational, and functional unity of the party. Objective political debates whose participants show tolerance of one another, debates in which the main role is played by arguments rather than the post held, must become the general practice in the activity of both primary organizations and leadership organs...

A determining role in the implementation of the party's leading role is played by work with cadres... As many capable young people as possible must be promoted to leadership positions in all spheres of political and social life. The holding of multiple posts in leading party and state organs and public organizations must be reduced...

Socialist pluralism based on the party's leading role is a condition for the implementation of people's power. This creates opportunities for the combination of various interests and for shaping them in the form of political will. The functioning of the socialist state is a determining factor in society...

The party must influence the activity of state organs through Communists working in the state apparatus... It is necessary to stimulate the independence of public organizations and movements. They must be given a greater role to play in the elaboration and discussion of political and state decisions, laws, and other normative

acts, in the development of political culture, the creation of self-motivated forms of democratic public life... Social glasnost is an important condition for the spread of socialist democracy... It must encompass party life, the life of the state and society, the rights of citizens, and the exercise of these rights...

Accomplishments Detailed

PM2505131788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Gerasimov and TASS correspondent A. Kuzmin: "On the Path of Renewal and Transformations. Hungarian National Party Conference Ends"]

[Text] Budapest, 22 May—A sense of political responsibility, openness, constructive criticism, a flood of new thoughts and ideas, the concern accompanying the quest for new ways—they were all features of the atmosphere of the 3-day Hungarian national party conference that ended here today. Some 50 people spoke and 226 submitted addresses in written form—these are the figures. But the speakers focused attention on the demand to increase the party's efficiency and performance, speed up the all-embracing, radical reforms of political institutions, protect socialist gains, and create the requisite cadre conditions for the forthcoming changes.

"Turning point," "reform," "renewal"—these are the three key words cited here when describing the main areas of the debate. Delegates agreed on the need to ascertain the reasons for difficulties, speed up the implementation of the change of direction on the basis of the conference resolution for the sake of the historic goals of the working class, make the political system more suitable for the management of the economy as a result of the reforms, update the methods and style of party work by getting rid of directive interference, expanding glasnost, utilizing socialist pluralism, and reducing the risk of mistakes to a minimum.

Hungarian restructuring, looking to overhaul the entire system of political institutions, is founded on unshakable faith in the party's leading role. Mihaly Panker, crane driver from the "Raba" plant in Gyor, plainly stated in this connection:

"We do not intend to support schemes which are aimed at diminishing the party's leading role and weakening the power of the workers, based on social consensus, which thereby hinder the attainment of our goals."

Mihaly Panker demanded that there should be more representatives of the working class in the party's leading bodies and that local party organizations should be given greater independence in determining the forms of work.

Attila Pataki, secretary of the Bakony bauxite mine party organization, raised the question of confidence—the "crisis of confidence in the party's supreme bodies." So the cadre questions must be solved in good time. Conference delegates stressed that purity, impeccable behavior, and healthy intolerance should be established features of party and public life. Without this there can be no confidence. There is still a great deal of formalism, bureaucracy, and authoritarianism. Only the party that sets an example by its internal order, principles, and work standards can be the national integrator which reinforces and consolidates the weakened social consensus again.

How can a "division of labor" between the party leadership and the state apparatus be established more clearly? This was one widely discussed topic. It is necessary to establish partnership relationships between public and mass organizations and the government and state apparatus, making them more enterprising in elaborating party policy—the delegates were unanimous on this. It is necessary to ensure the sovereign functioning of self-managing forums of people's representatives, including the parliament, and councils as well, and they must operate as innovators of the political system of socialism, delegates stated. The party Central Committee need not examine all laws. The improvement of the political system must be conducted in one-party conditions in such a way that there is extensive public monitoring of the activity of the party playing the leading role. Political dialogue, conviction, cogent evidence, and the possibility of criticizing political and government activity—these are the factors which lead to social self-management.

Self-monitoring, the adjustment of one's own activity, and the creation of a mechanism promoting scientific, valid, and high-quality decisions placing a barrier in the way of voluntarism—this is the path the MZSMP has been following in renewing itself and strengthening unity.

The Hungarian economic and political situation, Hungarian Council of Ministers Chairman K. Grosz said in his speech at the conference, is rather complex. For many years the economy has borne the oppressive burden of a growing debt and, at the same time, worthy efforts have been made to improve results and make the work of industry, agriculture, and trade more effective. World-class products in one shop, poor-quality items in another—this occurs sometimes even at one and the same enterprise. Stagnating living standards on the one hand, a marked increase in prosperity on the other. I could go on. In the spirit of what I said above, it is necessary to take into equal consideration both the results and the mistakes. Here, at the moment—and naturally so—we are more concerned with mistakes, that is, not with "how things stand." I am not disputing the thesis, which is also reflected in the documents, that the bulk of today's difficulties are a consequence of our own mistakes.

Will we be able to answer the question of how we got into this situation? I think so. Yesterday's successes made us complacent. Labor discipline and public monitoring

became lax. Subjectivism became ingrained in the management of the economy, spiritual life, and cadre work and neoformalism became widespread in public life. Certain people began to believe they were infallible. There were gross errors in dealing with major economic questions. I feel that I am guilty here too, since, as a member of the Central Committee since 1980 and a delegate to the 13th congress, I voted for the adoption of decisions which subsequently turned out to have been incorrect.

This situation took shape gradually, over a long period, and if nothing changes it may enter a qualitatively new stage whose consequences will be tragic.

At first the party members and then the leadership as well comparatively quickly realized the need for profound changes, K. Grosz continued. I agree with Comrade Kadar that the most urgent task is to strengthen authority. The chief prerequisite for this is the renewal of our party. Many people believe the one-party system has not passed muster, citing our present difficulties to support this view. They fail to reckon with the fact that this was no arbitrary decision, but the consequence of objective social opportunities. Today's one-party system is an unequivocal expression of the people's will, a product of history. I am convinced that what is needed is one party, the kind of militant alliance that was being created, the kind that was being and could be created if the ossified ideological prejudices are eliminated. If the democracy and discipline in it are strengthened, if it breaks free from the fetters forged from a dogmatic work style, secrecy, introversion, and reticence. The MSZMP will then be capable, alone, of performing its leading role despite the difficulties.

The sad examples of the recent past in the socialist world demonstrate that, when the party is paralyzed, the paralysis spreads to the whole of society. No one can gain from this, in fact everyone could lose.

While severely castigating our current weaknesses, we cannot deny the values of the past, because, I am convinced, a political movement that does not value its past gains loses its roots, and its situation in the future will be a hopeless one.

As well as renewing the party, our task is to accurately define the place of the state and, within its framework, the role of the government. We need a government that is receptive to the day-to-day issues of the reality around us and deals effectively with problems of production and distribution, that can take a risk and, at the same time, acts with a sense of responsibility, that, in the interests of the future, does not duck the inevitable conflicts and bases its work on the principle of personal responsibility, that is capable of making mature decisions on matters of consistency and renewal and places the emphasis on well thought-out renewal and is exacting toward itself and toward the work of others.

We have a thoroughly well thought-out action program. We know what we want to do and how we want to do it. Our line of conduct is predictable. Anyone who wants to help us will find extensive opportunities to do so.

On the basis of our historical experience we can say that there is a way out of every situation. The question now is not whether we are able to act, but what precisely we should do. Naturally, every result has its price. Therefore, it has to be paid for, but it would be far more costly not to do anything.

At this moment, during this period of time, the destiny not only of the Hungarian people but of the socialist world is being decided for a long time to come. Therefore our successes are exerting an influence, albeit on a modest scale, on the renewal that is taking place throughout the socialist system. But our potential failures could strengthen the positions of conservative forces which are resisting the implementation of progressive socialist aspirations. So our responsibility has soared. I believe that neither the Hungarian people, nor our friends living abroad will be disappointed in us, K. Grosz said.

While backing all the party's planned reforms, delegates also severely criticized shortcomings in the country's development and pointed to current instances of imbalance. There were many impartial observations about the education of young people, about the party's dwindling influence among youth. A guest of the conference, Academician Dezso Keresztury, writer and nonparty person, talked about the role of education and about the need to improve people's cultural standards. Kataliya Bleyer, worker at the "Kontakt" plant in Szentes, said that today a worker has to work not 8, but 14 hours a day to provide the family with an adequate living standard. She called for greater prestige for the 8-hour working day.

A resolution adopted at the conference provides for holding republic and local referendums and increasing the independence of the Hungarian National Assembly and councils' economic initiative. The multimandate election system will be modernized, competitive election of leaders at enterprises will take place on a wider scale, there will be fewer cases where the same people are simultaneously involved in leading bodies in the party, state, and social structures, and the number of posts over which superior bodies have authority will be reduced. The intraparty electoral system will change: There will be two or more candidates per secretarial position. Certain posts will be open to be occupation by the same person for not more than two terms. [This and the following additions are reported by Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 1988 in its First Edition. Here the PRAVDA First Edition adds: "In this connection, one heard it said in the corridors that: "'In Stalin's case one term was too much, but in Lenin's case three would be too few!'"]

People talked at the conference about Comrade Janos Kadar's historic services. The past 32 years have been a period of the most major accomplishments in Hungarian

history. Despite the current difficulties, you cannot nullify what was achieved through the joint labor of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia.

This morning the conference was summed up by Comrade Janos Kadar.

Assessing the conference's work, J. Kadar said that it took place in a critical spirit and it was characterized by responsibility and openness. The conference performed its functions well.

The MSZMP was one of the first socialist countries' parties, J. Kadar stressed, to recognize the need to take into account in practical life elements of material interest when building socialism—individual and collective interest. The people do not exist for the correctness of theory to be tested on them; theory exists so that on its basis conditions can be created for the people's better future.

Comrade J. Kadar opposed leveling, which is still widespread, whereby collectives that work badly receive the same amount of money as those that work well. Leveling is a legacy of the past. [The First Edition adds: "Greater account should be taken here of the involvement of people and groups. It is important to enhance the significance of personal participation and of the individual in the building of a new society."]

There has been much criticism of the party leadership and many fair and valid observations, he continued. Some of our good decisions are being badly implemented.

The debate showed the Communists' readiness to gear efforts to the solution of tasks and the importance of reforms and the widening of socialist democracy and glasnost. The conference's chief conclusion is that the Hungarian people will continue to move consistently forward on the road of socialist building. Socialist Hungary is strengthening friendship and alliance with the USSR and the other socialist community states. He wished the Soviet-American Moscow summit success and expressed the hope that the Soviet Communists' forum—the 19th all-union party conference—would be fruitful.

The Hungarian people, J. Kadar said in conclusion, have a battleworthy party, ready for renewal, which has the support of society.

At a closed session the party's leading bodies—the MSZMP Central Committee and Central Control Committee—were elected by secret ballot.

There was an MSZMP Central Committee plenum. A new MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and a new MSZMP Central Committee Secretariat were elected. Janos Kadar was elected chairman of the MSZMP and Karoly Grosz was elected general secretary of the MSZMP.

Sejm Session Opens, Focuses on Reform's Problems

LD2505112088 Moscow TASS in English 1109 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 25 TASS—The Polish Sejm (Parliament), which began a two-day session here today, will focus attention on a range of important problems related to the implementation of the second stage of the country's economic reform.

The deputies of the nation's supreme legislative body will discuss the government's report on the development of health services and social insurance and implementation of the law on environmental protection.

The Sejm will also consider draft amendments to the law on prices.

The first reading of the government's draft law on altering some provisions of the criminal code will take place.

Jaruzelski on New Powers Bringing 'Vitality'

LD2505201988 Moscow TASS in English 1853 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Warsaw May 25 TASS—Poland is firmly and undeviatingly on the road of renewal, radical changes and reform, said Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of Poland's Council of State.

He was speaking in Warsaw on Tuesday at a national conference of the representatives of worker self-management groups.

On the pace of economic reform in the country and, in particular, on granting extraordinary powers to the government by the Sejm (Parliament), the Polish leader said that the powers would be used to bring vitality into and put into order some of its mechanisms, which are seizing or have faults, primarily to instigate to more activity the people who service them.

During the discussions at the conference, there sounded criticism and anxiety over the future and the conditions of life, a major concern of the working people and the entire population, Jaruzelski said. But this anxiety must not become a fruitless martyrdom and, what is more important, a destructive action. It should be reforged into initiatives, multiplied efforts, better organisation and discipline.

What is needed now most of all is the tranquility and work, and not the efforts to seek advantages, a competition over who manages to press higher demands, nor a political fuss. The recent incidents reminded us and made us feel what it leads to.

The western mass media as well as different major businessmen, bourgeoisie political bodies and politicians have experienced another fit of "love" for the Polish worker. They again found a pretext to threaten to hold up the normalisation of relations. Moreover, some practical consequences of this have emerged already.

Poland is invariably full of good will and seeks to develop cooperation with all countries, based on mutual respect, Wojciech Jaruzelski said. In doing so, it wants and will continue to extend the process of socialist democracy, to create further conditions for associations, to boldly widen foundations of the national accord.

CPCZ Presidium Considers Economy's Shortcomings

PM2405110188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague, 20 May—A routine CPCZ Central Committee Presidium session was held here today to examine, in particular, the results of implementing the budget and fiscal policy in 1987. It was pointed out that, despite definite successes in the country's socioeconomic development during this period, certain unfavorable trends, problems, and shortcomings associated, above all, with the low pace of intensification of the Czechoslovak economy have once again manifested themselves.

Account was taken of information on the course of the CPCZ kraj conferences and city party conferences in Prague and Bratislava held 14-15 May. It was noted that they were held in a businesslike atmosphere and expressed full support for the CPCZ Central Committee's policy and determination to consistently implement the policy of acceleration, restructuring, and the development of socialist democracy.

West Europe

EEC Foreign Ministers Approve Declaration

LD2505203988 Moscow TASS in English 1347 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Brussels May 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov: The session of the EEC Council of Ministers at foreign ministers level closed ahead of schedule in the Belgian capital last night.

The heads of the foreign policy departments of 12 member nations of the Common Market approved the provisions of the draft joint declaration on estabishing official relations between CMEA and EEC, which was coordinated by the experts of the two international economic organisations late last week. In the course of these talks, the groundwork was laid for concluding an agreement, the question has been settled of the territorial reservation considering the present-day realities, in particular the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin. The document expresses the preparedness of both sides to develop cooperation within the framework of their competence and in the field of mutual interests.

As newsmen were told by Willy de Clercq, member of the commission of the European Communities in charge of questions pertaining to foreign policy relations and policy in the field of trade, the ministers had expressed satisfaction with the fact that from now on all obstacles have been removed from the way towards normalising relations between the two organisations. The ministers have reaffirmed the EEC's preparedness to initial the joint declaration providing for establishment of official relations between CMEA and EEC and development of mutually beneficial cooperation.

The session was originally planned to last two days. Yet the very first day of the session showed that the partners would not be able this time again to reach agreement on questions pertaining to the implementation of the decisions of the February session of the European Council of Communities on the package of acute budgetary-financial problems.

FRG Foreign Ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who chaired the session, told the concluding press conference that the questions connected with the creation of EEC's structural fund, the problem of the community's own resources and the observance of tough principles of budgetary discipline will have to be turned over for finalizing by experts. These questions will again be discussed at the scheduled session of the EEC Council of Ministers due to be held in Luxembourg on June 13-14.

The question of the date of the direct elections to the European Parliament in June 1989 has also remained outstanding.

A meeting of the Committee on Cooperation between Israel and the EEC was held within the framework of the session. It was attended by Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, who was criticised over the policy of repressions pursued by Israel in the occupied Arab territories. It was noted that a middle East settlement is possible only through political methods. The leaders of the foreign policy departments declared for the convocation of an international conference to decide the question of the granting to the Palestinian people the right to self-determination and creation of their own national state.

Shevardnadze Receives UK Envoy, Thatcher Message

LD2505135288 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, foreign minister of the USSR, today

received Bryan Cartledge, ambassador of Britain to the USSR at his request. The ambassador handed over a personal message by Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

Britain's Defense 'White Paper' Assessed
PM2505094788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Unnamed "own correspondent" report: "In the Shadow of the 'White Paper'"]

[Text] London—It is no bibliographical rarity: Anyone who wants to can pay out 30 pounds to acquire his own copy of the "White Paper" from the special government store. But this document is a rarity in many respects, nevertheless. I am referring to the British draft military budget for the next financial year and the definition of its aims.

Let us begin with the most important aspect—the political reasoning, if you like, behind the British Cabinet's intentions. We immediately stumble literally over the striking contradiction of logic in the document. The White Paper, which was compiled by a "think tank" deep in the heart of the Defense Ministry headed by George Younger, appears to start on a good note. It makes positive reference to recent changes in East-West relations. It approves of the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This Tory government draft appears to be in favor of new thinking in diplomacy. At least, it is in favor of Moscow's displaying this kind of thinking. What is more, the perfectly reasonable idea that "there is no reason to assume that the Soviet leaders want a war in Europe" is stated in the White Paper in black and white.

This would seem to be a very appropriate point to reveal its own new ideas in the approach to global problems and, primarily, to the problem of nuclear disarmament. Alas, this does not happen. We are dealing with a demonstration of the old commitment to stereotypes which involve very awkward exercises. While giving the Soviet reform program its due, the authors of the White Paper immediately sound the alarm, evidently frightened by the fact that economically, politically, socially, and morally, socialism is becoming objectively stronger and more attractive. "This," and I quote, "is a challenge the West must accept."

So what does the latest British ministry document suggest? This just-published White Paper may at best amaze the serious, thoughtful British reader but is more likely to annoy and possibly even outrage him. The signs of the times are only verbally linked in this document. But planned actions are following their course. The Soviet Union is still allegedly a potential threat to Western Europe and Britain. In short, the British Pentagon finds it extremely desirable for Moscow's image to remain an enemy image in British minds.

The latent fears and dangerous calculations of the Tory government have been correctly deciphered, to my mind, by a military affairs commentator from the London newspaper THE INDEPENDENT. He writes: "So that the public does not form the impression that these changes (in the USSR—A.K.) mean that Britain no longer needs to spend so much on defense, the White Paper devotes a whole chapter to the balance of military strength in Europe. There is a section on Soviet military doctrine. This claims that the Warsaw Pact Organization 'has a capability which could be used for aggressive purposes if Soviet intentions were to change.'"

This same British Defence Ministry document also claims the following: "Its (the USSR—A.K.) sworn aim of removing all nuclear weapons from Europe will make the West European countries vulnerable before the frightening power of Soviet superiority in conventional and chemical weapons, which could be used in an attempt to impose the Soviet will."

Sensing the flimsiness of their arguments in light of our peaceful, honest initiatives, the resourceful men in Whitehall hazarded a guess and arrived at some curious conclusions. Really, they could not have been invented for fun. "Even if a balance is reached in the conventional arms sphere," the White Paper says profoundly, "it cannot be relied on to deter aggression."

The authors of the government document expound the long-standing attitude of Prime Minister M. Thatcher, who still has no wish to change her opinion. "In the foreseeable future," the White Paper declares, "only nuclear forces will be able to oppose a potential aggressor." Everything, therefore, leads to the conclusion that Britain apparently needs to rearm and upgrade its arms, above all, in the sphere of its own "deterrent forces."

Now the actual figures and so forth: The planned budget is 19,215,000,000 pounds sterling. It is more than the previous budget. It has been calculated that for every Briton, women and children included, 350 pounds sterling per year is to be spent on defense—defense against whom is not known.

Fundamental emphasis is placed on implementation of the "Trident" program. According to some experts, when this program has been completed, Britain's strategic nuclear arsenal will increase approximately 8 times in comparison to its present level.

The Conservative government, according to its Labour opponents, is trying to undermine the spirit and the letter of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This is shown, in particular, by the intention to replace obsolete bombs on British air

force aircraft with "cruise missiles." The White Paper, Shadow Cabinet member Denzil Davies said recently, glorifies and romanticizes nuclear weapons.

There are also other plans to build up and improve arms. Reference is made to the project for a new "Eurofighter" and the creation of a third generation of antitank weapons in conjunction with the FRG and France.

We are used to talking about the military-industrial complex, primarily having the United States in mind. Similar complexes not only exist but are flourishing in Western Europe. It is no accident that when discussing the country's new military budget the London newspaper THE TIMES included material on weapons orders on the same page, eloquently entitling it "Industry's Biggest Client." It was talking about the British defense department.

The White Paper, whose margins could be dotted with question marks, admits that the British defense budget is "one of the highest among the NATO countries however you measure it: in absolute terms, as a percentage of GNP, or calculated per capita of the population."

That much is clear.

More on Latvian Delegation's Visit to Sweden

LD2105135688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 21 May 88

[Text] Stockholm, 21 May (TASS)—A CPSU delegation led by B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party, was here at the invitation of the leadership of Sweden's Left Party—Communists (VPK).

During the visit, which took place within the framework of regular contacts between the two parties, talks were held with the VPK leadership. The head of the CPSU delegation talked about the processes of perestroyka and democratization of all areas of the life of Soviet society, and provided information about the preparation of Soviet Communists for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which is called upon to provide an analysis of the changes taking place in the country and to adopt decisions aimed at improving economic life, developing democracy and glasnost, and involving the broad masses of the population in these processes. Representatives of the VPK gave a positive appraisal of the processes of renewal in the Soviet Union, which are evoking great interest throughout the world, including Sweden.

During the discussion of international issues, the coincidence of the positions of the two parties was noted on topical problems of the struggle for peace and international security, and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. The representatives of the VPK welcomed the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as the first step on the path to real nuclear disarmament. The importance was noted of the Soviet peace initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his Murmansk speech last October, which open fresh opportunities for strengthening security and reducing the level of military activity in northern Europe and creating a nuclear-free zone in the region.

Group Returns to Moscow

PM2505104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Returns"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation led by B.K. Pugo, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, has returned to Moscow after a visit to Sweden at the invitation of the leadership of the Left Party-Communists.

Leading Economists To Study 'Swedish Model'

PM2505110188 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 21 May 88 p 10

[Lars Christiansson report: "The Soviet Union Studies The 'Swedish Model'"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Union has accepted Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's invitation to study the "Swedish model." A nine-man delegation including influential Soviet economists will arrive in Stockholm on 29 May and, in a program arranged by the Swedish Government, acquaint themselves with how the Swedish economy functions. [passage omitted]

The Soviet delegation will be headed by Anatoliy Milyukov, who works at the Central Committee Economic Affairs Secretariat [as published]. Among the other members of the delegation will be General Secretary Gorbachev's reform architect, Abel Aganbegyan, who is secretary of the Economics Department at the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and Leonid Abalkin, director of the Economics Institute. The last two are both members of Gorbachev's perestroyka staff.

Their host for the visit is Under Secretary of State Carl-Johan Aberg of the Foreign Ministry's Foreign Trade Department. The Soviet economists will also hold talks with several Swedish ministers. The Foreign Ministry was unwilling to state who these will be, but they will probably include Industry Minister Thage G. Peterson, Social Affairs Minister Gertrud Sigurdsen, Labor Minister Ingela Thalen, and Trade Minister Anita Gradin.

The first week of the visit will be devoted to study visits arranged by the National Labor Market Board to employment exchanges and job training centers and study visits to industry, to unions and employers' organizations, and to Uppsala and Stockholm universities.

The second week will be devoted to seminars at Haga Palace arranged by the government. There the visiting Soviet economists will attend lectures by government civil servants and specialists and by various Swedish economists. Representatives of the Labor Market Board will also attend.

Fishery Firm Established With Sweden

PM2505092188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Balakirev report: "'Neptun's' First Step"]

[Text] Vladivostok—The refrigerator fishing trawler "Rublevo" has set out from the port of Troitsa in Maritime Kray to fish. Its sister ship, the medium trawler "Yefremovo," has left the Sakhalin coast on an expedition. In this way a Soviet-Swedish joint marine resources enterprise—"Neptun"—is taking its first step in the Far East.

The Soviet "Primorrybprom," "Sakhalinrybprom," and "Sovrybflot" Associations and the Swedish "Skarys" company have become partners in opening up the Pacific's resources. Our side owns 51 percent of the combined capital. What are the aims and tasks of the new international enterprise?

"We are starting by catching and processing crabs, for which purpose the ships have been specially reequipped," Boris Nadein, director of the Vladivostok branch of the "Neptun" joint enterprise, said. "The end product is frozen crab meat ready for use in a 1-kg pack. There is a great demand for this product, and we plan to order our own crab-fishing ship fitted with the most modern equipment. This will make it possible to extend the fishing zone and take red strigun crabs, for example, from depths at which we do not work at present.

"The crew of the ships leased from the associations is our own, Soviet crew, and we will do the catching and processing with a clear orientation toward world standards and the latest technology, which we intend to obtain at our own expense by means of direct contacts with foreign firms. Of course, the enterprise has its eye on not only crabs but also other resources on the shelf of the entire economic zone."

"What does the joint enterprise promise the region's national economy?"

"It promises, above all, to increase experience of an international business partnership in the Pacific basin. The benefit of such cooperation has been proven in the example of the many years' activity of the Soviet-U.S. marine resources company, in whose expeditions I have participated four times as captain-director of the 'Sulak' head floating base. If we consider more particular aspects, the prospects are multifarious. We, for example, have already ordered modern packaging materials and fishing equipment from Japan for Maritime Kray and Sakhalin. We intend to set up two seafood cafes in Vladivostok, while in the longer term, the enterprise might participate in developing shore facilities for Far Eastern fishermen. We will earn currency, and our hands have been untied to show initiative—that is the chief thing."

Role of 'Fisheries Research' Airplane Questioned

PM2405104788 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 20 May 88 p 8

[Olav Trygge Storvik report: "Aerial Search for Blue Whiting Impossible"]

[Text] "The Soviet researchers with whom we are in contact have never said that the Soviet Union searches for blue whiting from aircraft. Nor can I imagine what instruments an aircraft could carry which would be able to detect blue whiting in the sea," researcher Terje Monstad of the Bergen Ocean Research Institute told AFTENPOSTEN.

Press attache V. Rosanov of the Soviet Embassy in Oslo said in a letter published in AFTENPOSTEN yesterday that the search for blue whiting was the reason why a special Ilyushin-18 DORR [Long-Range Ocean Fishery Reconnaissance] aircraft is making a number of crossings of Norwegian and Swedish territory from a base near Riga. This aircraft is very little known in the West. Jane's "All The World's Aircraft" says that the aircraft was first mentioned in Soviet publications in 1986. But Rosanov claimed that the aircraft has been used to look for blue whiting since 1979. The most authoritative reference work in the West, Jane's, gives no information at all about the equipment with which this aircraft is fitted. The Ilyushin aircraft are otherwise known to be military intelligence planes which are able either to carry out electronic intelligence or search for submarines, like the West's P-3C Orion.

Monstad is a specialist on blue whiting. He said that in the spring the blue whiting remains at very great depths of approximately 400 meters in their spawning grounds west of Britain. For this reason, it is impossible to detect the shoals—schools of fish—from aircraft, he said. From April, the fish begin to enter the North Sea in search of food and are to be found in the sea areas toward Iceland and Jan Mayen Island, but here, too, the fish remain at relatively great depths, around 200 to 400 meters. Only small parts of the shoals, the young fish, can be found in the 100 meter zone.

Blue whiting is a fish which thrives best where the cold ocean currents from the north meet the more temperate currents from the south. It is, therefore, possible that the special Soviet aircraft is trying to measure sea temperatures as an indirect way of finding blue whiting, Monstad said. "But this is not a certain way of finding the blue whiting shoals. Also, it is unnecessary to use aircraft to collect data about sea temperatures," Monstad said. "It

is possible to obtain the same information from satellites or ships." As far as Monstad is aware, no other states on the North Sea or Norwegian Sea use aircraft for fisheries research. For example, Norway collects its data from ships, and the Soviet researchers we know do the same, Monstad said. He stressed that the Ocean Research Institute is chiefly in contact with researchers in Murmansk.

However, Monstad said that aerial searches for fish are a method known from other countries. This applies particularly to tropical areas where the fish gather in shoals at the surface, in the Indian Ocean for example. But even if aircraft are used in the search, researchers still need to have observations confirmed by ships on the spot.

The search for blue whiting was not given as a reason in the application from the Soviet aviation authorities for permission to overfly Norwegian territory—although this is the impression that could be gained from reading Press Attache Rosanov's letter to AFTENPOSTEN. Foreign Ministry Spokesman Lasse Seim said that the application simply mentioned fisheries research as the reason for crossing Norway and Sweden. Because of a mistake by the low-ranking officer in charge of dealing with the application at the Defense High Command, permission for the flight over Norway was granted. When the Defense High Command later became aware of the shortcomings attaching to permission, the Foreign Ministry thought it would be unfortunate to withdraw permission—this time at least—once it had been granted.

Deutsche Mark Loan 'Seriously' Considered

LD2405162388 Hamburg DPA in German 1043 GMT 24 May 88

[Excerpt] Frankfurt, (DPA/VWD)—For the first time, the Soviet Union is to enter into a debt-affecting transaction involving Deutsche marks. The Dresdner Bank confirmed in Frankfurt on Tuesday that the Soviets are "seriously considering a DM loan". Wolfgang Roeller, the executive board spokesman for Dresdner Bank, had recently conducted relevant talks in Moscow with the chairman of the board of USSR Bank of Foreign Economic Activity, Y. Moskovskiy.

The DM-bonded loan by the USSR is considered an important step on the way toward opening up Moscow to international financial markets. However, Dresdner Bank, considered to be the syndicate leader, refused to give details as to volume, conditions, and timing. Banking circles assume that the volume will be DM500 million and the interest rate, 6.25 percent. [passage omitted]

Loan Expected 'Soon'

DW241030 Duesseldorf HANDELSBLATT in German 24 May 88 p 1

[Article by HKEF: "First DM Loan for USSR To Be Granted Soon"]

[Excerpt] Frankfurt/Zurich, 23 May—The first DM loan to the Soviet Union, which has long given rise to a great deal of speculation and has been subject to fierce competition among the leading German loan issuing banks, is very likely to be launched within the next few days, maybe before the end of the week. It seems that the die is cast. According to reliable sources, the banking group will be headed by Dresdner Bank.

The highly prestigious project—insiders expect the loan to amount to some DM500 million—is considered an important step in the Soviet Union's opening to international money markets of which it is likely to make greater use in the future. The group of issuing banks, it is assumed, may allow for all three major German banks, plus Westdeutsche Landesbank, to act as lead managers, with Dresdner Bank being the bookrunner [preceding word published in English]. Replying to questions on the loan, Dresdner Bank merely reaffirmed Friday afternoon that talks with the Soviet foreign trade bank had taken place in Moscow recently and that the bank was seriously considering its first DM loan. [passage omitted]

FRG Communist Environmental Group Pays Visit

PM2505101988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Deepening Cooperation"]

[Text] A German Communist Party [DKP] delegation on environmental questions headed by W. Stuermann, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the DKP Board, visited the Soviet Union on 16-23 May at the CPSU Central Committee's invitation. The delegation was received by V.A. Grigoryev, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Institutions Department, and delegation members had conversations at the editorial office of the journal KOMMUNIST and at Soviet departments involved in environmental protection questions. The FRG Communists visited the Chernobyl AES and viewed the construction of the barrage in Leningrad.

The West German comrades were familiarized with work to restructure environmental protection activities being carried out in our country. Questions on deepening cooperation between the two parties in this area were examined.

French Communist Leader Cited on June Election

PM2505132988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "For the Cohesion of the Masses"]

[Text] Paris, 22 May—The main task of the French Communist Party's [PCF] election campaign in connection with the early parliamentary elections set for the beginning of June is to ensure the cohesion of the masses in the struggle against the crisis and in defense of

working people's social gains. This was stated here by PCF Secretary General G. Marchais. He was appearing on a Radio Luxembourg program.

The Communists' election campaign is taking place in extremely difficult conditions, in an atmosphere of unbridled anticommunist attacks on the PCF, he went on to say. The philistines would have people believe that "the PCF is in decline." Indeed, the presidential election was very difficult for the party. This is due primarily to the fact that in existing conditions, the Communist candidate had practically no chance of being elected. Parliamentary elections are fundamentally different from that election. Long experience has eloquently demonstrated that it is Communists who consistently uphold working people's interests in the National Assembly and expose the ruling circles' antiworker actions.

The PCF is effectively the only opposition force that is proposing a just social policy and that has elaborated a concrete action program.

Shalayev Receives Portuguese Union Officials

PM2505092988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at AUCCTU"]

[Text] AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev has received a delegation of the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers-National Intersyndical headed by J. Judas, secretary of the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers-National Intersyndical, which is visiting the USSR at the AUCCTU's invitation. The representatives of the Portuguese trade union center described their impressions of their visits to Moscow and Kiev and to industrial and agricultural enterprises and their meetings with trade union workers and activists. The delegation members made a high assessment of the socioeconomic transformations being implemented in the USSR and stressed their great significance for the working class and all working people in Portugal. Questions of further deepening cooperation between the AUCCTU and the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers-National Intersyndical were discussed in the course of the conversation.

Yesterday the delegation flew home.

Lobov, Delegation Continue Visit to Turkey

Meet With Defense Minister

PM2405150788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 May 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Ankara, 23 May—Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, who is here on an official visit, has been received by E. Vuralhan, Turkish national defense minister. He also met with Army General N. Torumtay, chief of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff, and Army General K. Yatgan, first deputy chief of the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff.

In the course of the visit, the Soviet military leader visited a number of military training establishments, familiarized himself with Turkey's defense industry enterprises, and observed exercises at an Ankara military school range.

Return to Moscow

PM2505124588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] Colonel General V.N. Lobov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, who has been on an official visit to the Republic of Turkey, returned to Moscow on 24 May.

Col Gen V.N. Lobov was met at Sheremetyevo Airport by Colonel General V.M. Mikhaylov and other officials.

The welcoming party included Ya. Baskut, counsellor at the Turkish Embassy in the USSR; Colonel N. Basim, air attache at the Turkish Embassy in the USSR; Lieutenant Colonel N. Soker, naval attache at the Turkish Embassy in the USSR; and Lieutenant Colonel S. Berk [name as published], military attache at the Turkish Embassy in the USSR.

Communique With Cypriot Communists Highlighted

PM2405153788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 88 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Meeting at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] On 20 May A.F. Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, met at the CPSU Central Committee with a Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) delegation comprising D. Khristofias, general secretary of the AKEL Central Committee, and D. Khristofinis, secretary of the AKEL Central Committee. At the end of the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of friendship and unity of views, the following joint communique was adopted.

Joint Communique of the CPSU and AKEL Representatives [subhead]

The representatives of the CPSU and AKEL discussed questions of the international situation and relations between the two parties.

Much attention was paid to problems of disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons, and the safeguarding of international security. Both parties' representatives believe that the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles in December 1987 was an important success for the peace-loving forces of all mankind, an achievement for the new political thinking and the Soviet Union's peace initiatives. The agreement is evidence of the feasibility of elaborating measures to reduce armaments and paves the way for the achievement of new accords in that sphere.

The CPSU representatives provided information on the course of the preparations for the upcoming Soviet-American summit, stressing the Soviet Union's desire to bring about implementation of further measures in the disarmament sphere, in particular a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive armaments with strict observance of the ABM Treaty, prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, and reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons.

The signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, which will make it possible to achieve the speediest solution of the external aspects of the Afghan problem, is an important contribution to the political settlement of existing regional conflicts.

The sides expressed concern in connection with the continuing explosive situation in the Near East. In this context, they stressed the significance of convening an international conference on the Near East, the idea of which is acquiring increasing recognition.

The transformation of the Mediterranean into a zone of security and cooperation would contribute to the common cause of peace and international detente. The new Soviet initiatives put forward in March 1988 by M.S. Gorbachev in Belgrade meet the interests of all Mediterranean peoples without exception, including the Cypriot people.

The Cypriot comrades provided information on the party's activity at the present stage of the struggle against the NATO countries' ceaseless interference in Cyprus' internal affairs and the Turkish forces' continuing occupation of the northern part of the island. They expressed profound gratitude to the CPSU for its consistent support for this struggle.

The CPSU delegation confirmed the constant position of the Soviet Union, which acts in defense of the rights and interests of the Republic of Cyprus and its population and advocates a more active quest for ways of settling the Cyprus problem. The holding of a representative international conference within the UN framework would be an important factor in a settlement.

The AKEL delegation was familiarized with the CPSU's activity in implementing revolutionary restructuring, which embraces all aspects of the life and activity of Soviet society—the economy, politics, social relations, and the spiritual and moral sphere. It was stressed that restructuring is the way to raise Soviet society to a qualitatively new level, to reveal the humanitarian potential of socialism. The Cypriot comrades were told about the preparations being made for the 19th party conference and about its goals and tasks.

The AKEL representatives expressed a high opinion of the policy of restructuring in the USSR and said that the future of the world and human civilization and the national and social liberation of the peoples depend on the success of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union and on the introduction of the new political thinking into the practice of international relations.

The CPSU and AKEL confirmed their parties' desire to continue to advocate further development of comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Cyprus and stronger friendship between the Soviet and Cypriot peoples.

With a view to the further development of fraternal CPSU-AKEL relations, the delegations approved a plan for party exchanges and cooperation between the two parties in 1988-1989.

On 19 May Yu.M. Vorontsov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR first deputy foreign minister, had a meeting with D. Khristofias, general secretary of the AKEL Central Committee. An exchange of opinions on the present position regarding a Cyprus settlement took place in a comradely, frank atmosphere. D. Khristofias expressed appreciation for the Soviet Union's principled support for the cause of a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem.

Briefs

Soviet-Italian Business Group

Moscow May 25 TASS—Rendering practical aid to various Soviet organisations and their business partners from Italy in mastering new forms and areas of economic cooperation is the main task of a new Soviet association for business cooperation with the Republic of Italy. The relevant instruments were signed in Moscow today. Other tasks of the association, which is a public organisation, will be promoting Soviet exports, co-production and joint ventures. The association comprises 63 Soviet organisations, which will cooperate with more than 400 Italian organisations. To exercise general guidance, the association will have a council that will be elected for three years. [Text] [*LD2605000788Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 25 May 88*]

Political & Social

Further on Supreme Soviet Proceedings

First Day Summarized

PM2605083188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 88 Morning Edition pp 1,4

[Unattributed "Information Report on USSR Supreme Soviet Sittings"]

[Text] The 9th session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th convocation opened in Moscow 24 May 1988.

The first joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities opened in the Great Kremlin Palace at 1000 hours with A.E. Voss, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, presiding.

At the proposal of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, endorsed by the chambers' Council of Elders, the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted the session's agenda and order of business.

The session's agenda includes the following items:

1. Changes in the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

2. USSR draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR.

3. The work of soviet and economic organs to ensure the implementation of the program of housing and cultural and consumer service construction in the light of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

4. Account of the USSR Supreme Court's activities.

5. Ratification of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decrees.

The USSR Supreme Soviet then began examining the first item on the session's agenda.

A proposal concerning the first item was submitted by Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The USSR Supreme Soviet relieved R.N. Nishanov, S. Mukashev, and R.-B.I. Songayla of their duties as deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and B.N. Yeltsin and I.B. Usmankhodzhayev of their duties as members of the Presidium.

Deputies P. Khabibullayev, Z.K. Kamalidenov, and V.S. Astrauskas were elected deputy chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Deputies L.N. Zaykov, R.N. Nishanov, and R.Kh. Khabibullin were elected members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The USSR Supreme Soviet heard a report from Deputy N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on the role of cooperatives in the development of the country's economy and on the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR.

Subsequently a coreport of the chambers' standing commissions on this question was delivered by A.F. Ponomarev, chairman of the Soviet of the Union Agro-Industrial Complex Commission.

(The coreport will be published in the next issue of IZVESTIYA.)

The first session of the Soviet of the Union opened in the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' hall of sessions at 1500 hours with B.Ye. Paton, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union, presiding.

Those present rose to honor the memory of Deputies M.A. Aytkhozhin, V.A. Belikov, S.G. Gorshkov, P.P. Grishkyavichus, A.V. Kovalenko, A.V. Koop, and A.I. Shokin, who have died.

On the instructions of the Council of Elders of the Soviet of the Union Deputy G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took the floor. He announced that Deputy L.N. Tolkunov had asked to be released from his duties as chairman of the Soviet of the Union in connection with his retirement for health reasons. The Soviet of the Union complied with the request of Deputy L.N. Tolkunov.

Deputy Yu.N. Khristoradnov was elected chairman of the Soviet of the Union and Deputy P.M. Noreyka was elected deputy chairman.

Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, took the chair.

The Soviet of the Union heard a report from A.I. Dubko, secretary of the Credentials Commission, about the verification of the credentials of the deputies elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union in 23 electoral okrugs to fill vacant posts. The Soviet of the Union decreed that the credentials of Deputies V.A. Lunev, I.K. Polozkov, N.B. Bikkenin, Yu.N. Pogorelov, B.M. Belousov, A.A. Vlasenko, R.Kh. Khabibullin, N.P. Zhirov, Kh.A. Dadov, V.P. Sidorov, L.I. Pavlenko, V.V. Skokov, V.P. Fokin, N.M. Golushko, A.N. Barkhatov, Ya.P. Pogrebnyak, I.A. Karimov, N. Normatova, N. Norov, V.I. Romanov, Ye.F. Bashmakov, V.S. Astrauskas, and I.S. Morozov should be recognized.

The Soviet of the Union made a number of changes to the composition of the chamber's standing commissions.

Then the Soviet of the Union moved on to the debate on the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR.

The following deputies took part in the debate: V.P. Orlov, Yu.A. Kolomiyets, K.Kh. Tyulebekov, Ye.N. Ignatyuk, P.S. Fedirko, M.M. Mirkasymov, G.A. Metonidze, Yu.Ya. Ruben, Ye.M. Primakov, F.M. Kulikov, N.G. Rakhmankulov, and Yu.I. Litvintsev.

With that the Soviet of the Union concluded the discussion of the second item of the agenda.

The session continues.

Soviet of Union Meets

PM2605091588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 5

[TASS report: "Yesterday in the Kremlin"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The first sitting of the Soviet of the Union opened in the Hall of Sessions at 1500 hours.

Deputies and guests applauded the arrival of Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, O.D. Baklanov, and I.V. Kapitonov.

The proceedings were opened by B.Ye. Paton, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

The participants honored the memory of those deputies who had died since the eighth session with a minute's silence.

At this point, Deputy G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took the floor.

The speaker said that L.N. Tolkunov, who was elected chairman of the Soviet of the Union at the 1st session of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 11th Convocation, has asked to be released from the duties of that post in connection with his retirement for health reasons. On the instructions of the Council of Elders of the Soviet of the Union, I propose that you consider complying with L.N. Tolkunov's request and release him from the duties of chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

It is proposed to elect Yu.N. Khristoradnov, deputy for the Gorkiy Oblast's Leninskiy Electoral Okrug, chairman of the Soviet of the Union. Comrade Khristoradnov has great experience in party work, and has been first secretary of the Gorkiy CPSU Obkom since 1974. He is a member of the CPSU Central Committee and was elected deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet of the 9th and 10th Convocations.

It is proposed to elect Comrade P.M. Noreyka, deputy for the Alitusskiy Electoral Okrug and director of the Lithuanian V.I. Lenin GRES, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

These proposals have been approved by the Council of Elders of the Soviet of the Union.

The participants in the session unanimously elected Deputy Yu.N. Khristoradnov chairman of the Soviet of the Union and Deputy P.M. Noreyka deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union. L.N. Tolkunov was released from his duties as chairman of the Soviet of the Union.

From that point the session was chaired by Yu.N. Khristoradnov.

Following the report of the Credentials Commission on the verification of the credentials of newly elected deputies, a resolution on this was approved.

Proposals for changes in the composition of a number of the chamber's standing commissions were examined and a relevant resolution was adopted.

Then the deputies began discussing the draft Law on the Cooperative System in the USSR.

Cooperative Law Debate

LD2505111888 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—A TASS correspondent reports from the Kremlin:

The fundamental significance of the draft law on cooperatives is in its contribution to the improvement of Soviet economy through enhanced competitiveness and a quicker response to consumer requirements, according to Supreme Soviet (parliament) deputies who have been discussing the draft law in the Kremlin for two days.

The debates in parliament are summing up three months of public discussion.

An ad hoc commission of the Supreme Soviet had received more than 200,000 proposals and amendments from all over the country, as a result of which the government introduced changes into 42 out of the 50 articles before sending the draft to parliament.

Judging by the deputies' remarks, the new edition of the law has caused no objections of principle, while the amendments suggested are dictated by the desire to protect cooperatives from unfounded interference by local authorities.

The deputies' concern is well justified as many cooperatives are facing problems, according to Vladimir Orlov, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation.

Russia, the largest of all Soviet republics with a population of 146.8 million, has a mere 9,000 cooperatives employing 107,000 people, Orlov noted. He blamed the state of affairs on local bureaucrats who do not give cooperatives the assistance they need.

Groundless limitations are introduced in many places, often under the pretext of attempts to keep workers from leaving state enterprises.

Another reason behind the limitations is the bigoted idea that a cooperative is something to be looked down at, so Orlov expects the law to help change the attitude to this very important matter.

The debates indicated that what Orlov had said also held true for other parts of the country.

Deputies Kasyn Tyilebekov (Kazakhstan), Georgiy Tarazevich (Belorussia), Galina Shedega (the Ukraine), Ivan Gladkiy (Moscow) and others noted that imperfect legal regulations were having a negative effect on interaction between cooperatives and state organizations.

Other problems cooperatives come across (and expect the law to help resolve) include raw materials supplies and an imperfect system of taxation.

Voting on the draft law is expected later today.

Batalin Speaks on Housing

LD2505133088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1102 GMT 25 May 88

[Speech by Construction Minister Yuriy Petrovich Batalin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, at a combined session of both houses of the Supreme Soviet held in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies: Concern for mankind, concern to increase his well-being and create conditions for the all-round development of the personality are the supreme meaning and foundation of the party's course aimed at restructuring all facets of the life of society. A strong social policy is also a powerful means for raising the labor and sociopolitical activity of people.

Working people perceive a strong social policy to a large extent to be the moving into new, comfortable apartments, resolving the problem of kindergartens, and expanding opportunities for varied leisure activities and to improve one's health. The major aims in this sphere, and above all the task of ensuring that by the year 2000 every Soviet family has a separate apartment or house, were set by the 27th party congress. Thanks to decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the government, specific measures have been formulated to fulfill the set tasks. Work has begun to implement them.

The discussion of problems related to housing and to construction for cultural and everyday life at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the supreme body of people's power—as the 19th party conference nears will make it possible to impart fresh impetus to all the work being carried out and to make this work genuinely nationwide.

In the years of Soviet power a broad housing construction program has been implemented. Today, the country's housing assets amount to 4.3 billion square meters. Housing was constructed at a fast pace in the second half of the fifties and in the sixties. During that period, our country led the world in terms of housing built per capita. However, the stagnation characteristic both in the seventies and at the beginning of the eighties was fully manifest in housing construction as well. The resources for social development were allocated according to the residual principle [ostatochnyy printsip]. As a result, over during four 5-year plan periods, the total area of residential housing commissioned stayed at virtually the same level, and apartments commissioned per thousand people fell considerably from 12 in 1960 to 7 in 1985.

At present, in towns about 15 percent of the population live in communal apartments; about 10 percent of urban dwellings and more than two-thirds of rural dwellings do not have the necessary area for communal installations; and 60 million square meters of residential floorspace is in a dilapidated condition. Because of a shortage of schools, almost one-fourth of the pupils attend a second or even a third shift. So far there are preschool facilities for 60 percent of children. Roughly one-third of club establishments are located in inadequate buildings. The provision for enterprises of public catering and everyday services is seriously lagging.

A deficiency has developed in the housing supply and the level of public services across the country. This goes both for individual republics and for krays and oblasts of the Russian Federation. For example, the supply of housing in Eastern Siberia and the Far East is roughly one-third lower than in the central Chernozem and northwest regions. In the Baltic Republics, the Ukraine, Armenia, and Moldavia the provision of general education schools is 85 to 90 percent of the norm, while in Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan the figure is just 62 to 65 percent.

Because construction in towns and villages has been carried out piecemeal, the tackling of many important social tasks has slowed down in recent 5-year plan periods—tasks concerned with educating the young generation, improving its health, supplying public services to the population, and organizing its leisure time. Serious steps are required to improve public utilities. The building going on in many towns and rural population centers lacks expression and is monotonous. Not infrequently, the architectural appearance and the planning of residential houses and public sector buildings does not

take account of demographic and general national characteristics, nor of the natural and climatic features of the regions where construction is taking place.

In most cases the quality of civil construction remains poor. After the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum, the party started to strongly implement its social policy. A policy of accelerated development of the material base in the social sphere was set out. The main thrust of economic and social development in the 12th 5-Year-Plan involved handing over 565 to 570 million square meters of general floor space to residential houses. However, bearing in mind the acuteness of the housing problem, and with the aim of the unqualified provision of every family with a separate apartment or house by the year 2000, the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers passed a decision in April 1987 to build not less than 630 million square meters of housing in the current 5-year-plan. It planned to increase the 5-year-plan target construction of schools, hospitals, polyclinics, clubs, houses of culture, and cinemas, and to move up the dates of their commissioning. With these aims in mind, the decision has been made to divert, in 1988-90, at least an additional 10 percent of capital investment intended for construction of production facilities into building housing and other social and cultural facilities.

Measures have been defined for developing the municipal economy, improving engineering facilities of towns and villages, reconstructing and expanding water and heat supply mains and sewage systems, and increasing their reliability. It is planned to commission works for processing solid household waste. It is planned to develop urban transportation systems and to build new underground railway lines.

It is envisaged to increase housing construction rates and to develop the sociocultural sphere in rural areas. In drawing up the plan for the current 5-year period, practically the whole increase in capital investment in the agro-industrial complex was directed to developing the social sphere in rural areas. More than R80 billion is allocated for these purposes, or 1.4 times more than in the 11th 5-year period. It is planned to commission 230 million square meters of housing. There will be considerable growth in construction of preschool institutions, schools, polyclincs, clubs, and municipal economic projects.

As you see, attitudes toward the social sphere are changing substantially.

But to what scale of housing construction must we be oriented in the nineties? On the basis of forecasts of the population, the number and composition of families, and other factors, if by the year 2000 practically every Soviet family is to live in a separate apartment or house, it is necessary to build in the 3 5-year periods 36 million apartments or approximately 2.4 billion square meters of housing. In the 13th 5-year period about 800 million square meters, and in the 14th 5-year period 900 million square meters will be required.

It is to these scales that the development of the material and technical basis of construction must be geared. To implement these plans for housing construction, in all republics, krays, and oblasts, it is necessary to ratify purpose-oriented programs and for the Supreme Soviet presidiums of the republics to supervise these programs' implementation.

But where does the business of developing the social sphere stand today? What is hampering faster progress? Where are our unutilized reserves? In the first 2 years of the 12th 5-year period 35 million square meters more housing was commissioned than in the corresponding years of the 11th 5-year period. Such scales of housing construction were acheived for the first time in all the years of Soviet rule. Compared to the last year of the 11th 5-year period, 1987 saw the construction of 14 percent more housing, 27 percent more schools, 16 percent more preschool institutions, 33 percent more polyclinics, 17 percent more hospitals, and 1.7-times more vocational technical colleges and clubs. The 2-year target for constructing housing, preschool institutions, schools, vocational technical colleges, hospitals, and polyclinics was fulfilled in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, and Kirghizia. These positive advances occurred thanks to efforts of the central, republican, and local party branches; local soviet and economic bodies; and work collectives to substantially build up the volume of construction and assembly work and to increase construction materials production.

At the same time, because of insufficient attention to these questions by local soviets and economic bodies in a number of union republics, and krays and oblasts of the Russian Federation, targets for the construction of housing and other social sphere facilities are not being fulfilled satisfactorily.

In Krasnoyarsk Kray, for example, the tasks have not been fulfilled for construction of housing, preschool institutions, schools, vocational training schools, and hospitals. The level of housing provision in the kray is one of the lowest in the country. There are almost 25,000 children on the waiting list for preschool institutions. There are schools where pupils are taught in three shifts.

The Buryat ASSR has one of the Russian Federation's lowest levels of cultural and domestic facilities. The tasks for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan for constructing preschool institutions, schools, hospitals, vocational training schools, and other cultural and domestic facilities were not fulfilled. The funds allocated were not assimilated.

Construction of housing and facilities in the social sphere is not proceeding satisfactorily in Georgia, Armenia, Tajikistan, and Moldavia. This year the situation in these republics is beginning to change somewhat. However, as yet there are no grounds to talk of any significant turning point here.

Construction of housing and social facilities continues to be carried out in a sporadic manner in the majority of union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts. As a result schedules for commissioning these facilities are disrupted and the quality of construction deteriorates. For example, it is a well-known fact that schools and vocational training schools ought to be handed over before the start of the academic year. However, over the first 4 months of this year only 29 percent of the planned annual volume of schools was fulfilled, while for vocational training schools the figure was only 21 percent.

Things are no better when it comes to kindergarten construction. Only 24 percent of the volume was fulfilled.

The issue of construction quality has become particularly acute. At the beginning of this year state acceptance of residential housing was introduced in 20 towns in the country as an important means of improving quality. The first indications have shown that positive results have been achieved where constant attention is paid to the quality issue. First quarter housing construction plans were overfulfilled in Moscow, Lvov, Sverdlovsk, Vilnius, and Riga. There was a considerable improvement in production and technological discipline in the construction industry.

At the same time, because of poor preparation for state acceptance, the first quarter housing commission plan was wrecked in Kishinev, Kirovobad, Frunze, Chardzhou, Leninabad, and Fergana. That is a serious failure by both the builders and the local administrative bodies.

Of course, high quality construction can only be achieved if high quality building material is used. Therefore, as of 1 January 1988, 69 large panel housing construction enterprises with an overall capacity of 14 million square meters of housing per year went over to state acceptance, and 77 enterprises in the construction materials industry also went over to state acceptance. Sixty-seven percent of ceramic items for sanitation purposes, 73-percent of ceramic tiles, half of all polymer construction materials, and almost 40 percent of plumbing equipment is now reviewed by state acceptance.

The output of enterprises that have moved to state acceptance in the time that has passed has shown noticeable improvement.

At large panel housing construction enterprises in Riga, Alma Ata, and Kiev, and at other housing construction combines where preparations were carried out in good time, the switch to state acceptance was achieved relatively painlessly. The enterprises fulfilled their set tasks and brought about a substantial improvement in quality of their output. But many enterprises in the Uzbek, Turkmen, and Armenian SSR's did not prepare for state acceptance in good time. In total the volume of output received by state acceptance did not exceed 60 percent in the first quarter. That led to a disruption of the supply to building sites of parts for houses and put collectives at enterprises in a difficult position.

Soviet people are unanimous on the fact that construction of residential housing, schools, preschool institutions, hospitals, clubs, and other social facilities is a matter of primary social and political importance. And that requires the mobilization of all available means and possibilities and priority allocation of resources for these purposes.

Specific housing construction programs have been elaborated in the majority of regions. To implement them, extensive utilization of the funds of enterprises, kolkhozes, and also of the resources belonging to the population is envisaged, along with the centralized capital investments. However, it must be said outright that the free-ride attitude has in many cases not been eliminated yet.

Numerous soviet and economic bodies, enterprises, and organizations still continue to direct the bulk of their efforts at obtaining additional centralized capital investments. At the same time, at a time when the law on state enterprise is in force and we are progressing to full financial autonomy and self-financing, the main focus of enterprises and organizations ought to be on improving efficiency and in this way obtaining additional resources to solve their social tasks.

Many local soviets, enterprises, and organizations fail to take effective measures to involve the population's resources on a broad scale in housing construction. Some ministries have failed to ensure the allocation of additional capital investments for the construction of social sphere facilities through reducing production construction by 10 percent, while a number of ministries are continuing—as far as the construction of production facilities are concerned—to be guided by very short-term advantages, attempting to save on housing and social and cultural amenities. Naturally, all these are illusory advantages. Cadres below the establishement level, their high turnover due to the community facilities being badly organized, delays the mastering of capacities handed over for use and leads to losses running into many millions.

To a considerable extent, this is the reason why the development of the Kansk-Achinsk fuel and power complex, of the enterprises in Kemerovo Oblast, and in a

number of towns of the Tatar ASSR is being held back. Despite criticism voiced at last year's June plenum, the development of social sphere in Astrakhan Oblast is not improving.

It is one of the more important tasks of local authorities to ensure that construction is comprehensive; to build in a comprehensive manner, quickly, and in a cost-conscious way, improving the single-customer service being set up in local soviets. Where these services combine practically all contractors and carry out the work according to long-term town and regional development plans, opportunities are created to organize flow-line construction and, in a number of cases, to advance by 30 to 40 percent the construction deadlines for residential buildings and for cultural and public amenities, cutting by up to 10 percent the cost per square meter of housing.

The work of the single-customer services is well organized, and comprehensive construction is ensured in Leningrad, many towns in Belorussia and Lithuania, in Ivanovo, Yaroslavl, Orel, Stavropol, and in a number of other places. Comrades, the construction subcontracting organizations should, as before, be mainly responsible for the workload connected with the fulfillment of the growing social construction program. In a majority of regions it is possible for them to greatly increase the volume of housing construction. Subcontracting organizations of general construction ministries in Ivanovo, Novgorod, Kirov, Ryazan, Tomsk, and Kamchatka Oblasts, in the Maritime Kray, the Mari ASSR, and the builders of Kazakhstan have increased by between 30 and 60 percent the housing handed over for use during 2 years of the 5-year plan.

Experience shows that where collective subcontracting has been tackled in earnest, where there is a transition to the second model of financial autonomy, where the grassroots organizations of labor collectives are made aware of its principles, the handing over of housing and social sphere facilities goes up sharply and additional material resources are found through savings.

However, builders clearly are still making insufficient use of the opportunities for new methods of economic management. And of course, production results depend directly on the working conditions and daily life of the builders, their qualifications, and the provision of housing and social facilities. There are still many unresolved problems here. Construction organizations must sharply step up their social development of their own collectives. Local soviet and economic bodies should give them effective assistance.

At the same time, the tasks in the social sphere are so significant that to resolve them—alongside the development of contract-building—it is necessary to substantially expand economic methods. Many labor collectives are seriously engaged in developing them. The experience of the Gorkiy Vehicle Works, the experience of the (Antonov) Design Bureau in Kiev, of the Uralmash Production Association, and a number of other enterprises is well known. In many instances, the development of the economic method, especially by smaller enterprises, is hampered by a lack of construction equipment. The resolution of this problem has been assisted by the setting up of equipment rental outlets attached to territorial material and technical supply bodies. Nineteen outlets are now in operation; a further 22 are to be set up in the near future. Rental outlets are working well in Gorkiy, Lvov, Baku, and Yerevan. But of course, this is very little. They should be in practically every oblast, every town, and, indeed, not just one such rental outlet. Such rental outlets ought also to be set up in construction contracting organizations.

It makes sense to involve house-building combines on a broader basis in assisting enterprises and organizations undertaking construction according to the economic method, for example, in building frameworks and other work.

The resolution of the housing problem was long undertaken with state resources. At the same time, the necessary attention was not paid to the development of individual and cooperative housing construction. Artifical and unfounded restrictions led to a situation where over the past years, the volume of individual housing construction fell 3 fold, from 54 million to 19 million square meters per year, while its share in the overall volume of housing fell from 50 percent to 14 percent.

Cooperative housing construction is not developing. After a certain upsurge in the 1960's it did not increase further, stabilizing in the region of 6 percent of all new housing. But in the CEMA countries, individual and cooperative construction constitute 60 to 84 percent of the overall volume of housing.

The expansion of individual and cooperative housing construction is one of the key directions in resolving the housing problem. The development of these forms of housing construction also makes it possible to resolve other important social and economic tasks, to satisfy more fully the growing demand of the populations, to strengthen the desire to work better and to earn more, and to have a stable structure of the people's spending for a prolonged period.

It is especially necessary to dwell on individual housing construction. After all, in many respects, a single-family house is the most comfortable kind of dwelling. It creates conditions for strengthening the ties between generations, for raising agricultural production, for raising children and brings a person closer to nature. The population's direct role in the resolution of the housing problem is not unimportant.

The recently adopted decision of the party Central Committee and government on accelerating the development of individual housing construction not only removes unfounded restrictions but also envisages every

possible support for individual house builders. The following fact illustrates just how much the adopted decision is in keeping with the interests of the working people: In the 2 months after the decision came out, credit to the tune of R400 million was extended to the population to build or purchase single-family houses. This is almost 10 times the figure for the first 4 months of last year.

It is necessary now to define more preceisely everywhere the general plans of towns and settlements and to allocate territories for individual housing construction. It is very important that the executive committees of local soviet, associations, enterprises, and organizations should ensure ahead-of-schedule construction on these territories of access roads and of power and water supply networks, and undertake the provision of assistance to individual house builders in the acquisition and supply of construction materials. It is necessary to adopt all measures so as to at least double by the end of the current 5-year plan period the volume of individual housing construction.

In large and medium-sized towns cooperative construction must become an important direction. In 1987, 8.9 million square meters of cooperative residential housing were commissioned. That is 160,000 apartments, but 1.5 million families are waiting for their turn; and in connection with the adopted decisions the number of those wishing to join cooperatives is sharply rising. It is necessary to strive to achieve a situation in which, already in the current 5-year plan period, basically all those who want to should be able to join housing-construction and housing cooperatives. It is necessary to devote particular attention to the sale of finished homes to housing cooperatives. This fully meets the interests both of working people and of the executive committees of local soviets and of labor collectives.

Associations and enterprises have a leading role to play in the development of cooperative construction. By attracting the savings of working people and by investing their own resources in surface installations at construction sites and through the compensation of a part of the loans, enterprises are speeding up the solution of the housing problem for their own workers and are crating conditions for the formation of stable labor collectives.

However, despite the wideranging opportunities that are now available for the development of individual and cooperative housing construction the situation in a number of regions is changing extremely slowly. And this is what working people are reporting in their letters. They say: Decisions have come out; they have been published in the press; but in our local areas it is as if they have not been read and not only are the necessary measures not being taken for the development of individual and cooperative housing construction, but obstacles continue to be put in its way. I shall allow myself to remind people yet again: individual cooperative construction is a huge reserve in speeding up a solution to the housing problem and it is the task above all of local soviet and economic organs to use it to the utmost.

Housing problems are particularly acute for young families. In many regions more than one-third of those on waiting lists are young people. However, the possibilities of these young people taking part in the construction of homes and of sociocultural homes are so far being poorly exploited. Despite the economic and social effectiveness of youth housing complexes, so far only a total of 150 have been set up in the country. Deserving support and broad dissemination is the initiative of the Komsomol Central Committee and of the RSFSR Council of Ministers on the formulation and implementation in the RSFSR of a program for the construction of youth housing complexes. This work has been developed well in Sverdlovsk, Moscow, and Riga. It is necessary that youth housing complexes are created in every town, and in major towns there should be several such complexes.

In conditions where there is a considerable increase in the scale of housing and cultural and domestic construction, it is very important to find such organizational and economic forms which would make it possible to reduce the length of time taken in construction and to avoid losses at the points where individual stages of the investment process come together—planning, building design adjustment, providing all the equipment necessary for construction and setting up design-industrial construction, and design construction associations is one such form of organization which would ensure that the focus is on the final result. A total of 173 such associations have now been set up in the country. Work is proceeding successfully to organize design-construction associations in the Minsitry of Construction of the Lithuanian SSR and at Gosstroy in the Estonian and Kirghiz unions republics. Associations have even set up here which are capable of guaranteeing turn-key construction on up to 90 percent of the housing program. However, not one association has been set up in Uzbekistan or Armenia.

In several cases the setting up of associations is hindered by local administrative organs but it is in the interests primarily of the Councils of Ministers of the union republics and the local soviets of people's deputies to act more boldly in developing this progressive form of organizing construction.

In conditions where there is a sharp increase in the scale of social construction it is very important to create the economic base which prevents growth. This task can be resolved by introducing a pricing system for each consumer unit of construction output—1 square meter of residential floorspace, one place in a kindergarten or school, one visit to a polyclinic, and so on. It should also be on the basis of these pricing systems that contract prices between clients and contractors should be set. This approach will direct builders, planners, and clients into reducing construction prices by using progressive

design decisions and progressive materials and structures. Formulating pricing systems for construction of housing and civic facilities has basically been completed in many regions. This work was well organized in Belorussia, the Ukraine, and Azerbaijan.

However, that is not how things are everywhere. The preparation of pricing systems in rural areas is proving to be particularly protracted. The councils of ministers in the union republics and local soviets must complete this work in short order.

In increasing the volume of housing construction, the preservation of the existing housing stock must not be forgotten, for the amount of housing which goes out of service annually is between 12 and 14 percent of new construction. The prompt repair and modernization of housing guarantees the preservation of the housing stock and to a considerable degree reduces the rate at which it goes out of service. Furthermore, modernization is approximately half the cost of new construction. This is eloquently indicated by the experiences of Krasnodar, Barnaul, Tbilisi, and Minsk.

Organizing housing construction cooperatives for the modernization of housing can be highly effective. The low residual cost of modernized houses makes is possible for the members of the collective to receive the cheapest housing. This may be particularly attractive for youth cooperatives.

It is obviously expedient to draw cooperatives into reconstructing and modernizing panelled housing built in the 1960's with so-called small metric area apartments. Technical solutions are available today which make it possible to bring about considerable improvements in planning, increase the useful area, and raise the level of comfort of apartments in these buildings. There is good experience in modernizing housing in Riga, Leningrad, and several other sites. But on the whole this work is done very badly.

The communal sphere is in need of fundamental improvement. One of the most important social tasks is to turn housing and public utilities into a highly mechanized and efficiently working branch of the national economy. Principled decisions have been adopted for this, but significant changes are not taking place in 1988. It has not been possible to noticeably improve the supply of materials and equipment to the public utilities. The provision of pipes is particularly difficult. The councils of ministers of the union republics, Gosplan, Gossnab, Gosstroy, the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry, and the local soviets must take exhaustive measures to develop and strengthen this sphere of the national economy.

A fundamental improvement to the energy supply to a number of towns, and particularly to rural towns (?and) rural areas, demands great attention. The Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of the Gas Industry, together with the councils of ministers of the union republics and the local management organs, must implement concrete measures for the gasification and electrification of towns and villages, and for raising the reliability of the power supply, and must increase the allocation of electrical power for heating homes in rural localities.

It is essential to draw labor collectives, enterprises, and the people more broadly into maintaining and preserving in an exemplary way homes and facilities belonging to public utilities, for social and consumer services, and amenities and green areas.

Comrade deputies, the development of the social sphere depends to a decisive degree on the material and technical basis of construction. In the last 10-12 years the material basis has remained practically static, and by the beginning of the 5-year plan period it turned out to be clearly unready for the sharply increasing scale of construction. The plan for the current 5-year plan period did not provide for a thorough-going strengthening of it. This is why it has become essential even during the course of the 5-year plan period to see that the development of the material and technical base of construction is speeded up. In accordance with the instructions of the Politburo, a program package has been drawn up to increase the production of building materials and construction wares.

In 1987 a package of relevant decisions of the USSR Council of Ministers was adopted. It is envisioned to expand capacities for the production of cement and to create a new special branch for prefabricated housing construction, to raise the level of industrialization of social facilities, to significantly develop the production of bricks, building blocks, mortar [keramzit], and other local materials. Particular measures are planned for increasing the output of house fitting items [predmety domoustroystva]. This program covers nearly all the most important kinds of traditional and new materials and goods, and is calculated up to 1995, and for a number of directorates up to the year 2000.

In the next 2-3 years it is essential to increase the volume of output of the basic building materials by 25-30 percent, and for several kinds of construction products, especially for fitting, by 1.5-2 times. The main thing now is to ensure unconditional implementation of the program that has been formulated, to concentrate efforts on the most important trends. First of all, of course, it is essential to (?determine) more clearly the strategy of the development of housing construction. Up to now most attention has been paid to panel construction.

Over the 30 years of its development, we have arrived at 56 million square meters of panel housing a year. It is expected to preserve its importance in the future, first of all in the regions of the central belt, Siberia, the Far East, and the north. The further development of panel housing construction should be carried out basically by improving existing capacities, the intensification of production,

and also the technical reequipment and reconstruction of panel housing construction works. But the main attention and basic efforts must be concentrated on the development of prefabricated housing. This method of construction enjoys wide-ranging possibilities for raising the quality and durability of housing, for the expressiveness of the architecture of individual houses and area complexes. It demands far less material and financial expenditure for its development, and—and this is very important—makes it possible to increase the volume of housing construction quickly, especially in areas with an undeveloped base.

The efficiency of this method is beyond question. In comparison with the panel method, expenditure on the creation of a production base is reduced on average by 40 percent, the consumption of metal by 20 percent, and the consumption of energy resources by 30 percent.

The total labor contribution in monolithic house-building, even at the initial stage of its introduction is close to that of panel construction and in a number of cases is already lower. Monolithic house-building is gathering pace. In 1985, 200,000 square meters of housing was built using monolithic methods. Last year, it was already over 1 million square meters. In 1990, it is planned to build 10 million square meters; in 1995, 25-30 million square meters; and by the year 2000, 50-60 million square meters a year. Thus, in monolithic house-building, we have to cover in 13 years the ground that took 30 years in prefabricated house-building.

Positive experience of monolithic house-building has been accumulated in the Lithuanian and Moldavian Union Republics, in the Chuvash Autonomous Republic and in Ulyanovsk Oblast, and the construction of housing blocks using monolithic construction is developing well in Kazakhstan and Georgia, the Kalinin, Pskov, and Omsk Oblasts, and in Krasnoyarsk and Altay Krays. Insufficient attention is being devoted to monolithic house-building by soviet and economic bodies in Tambov, Panza, Volgograd, and Vladimir Oblasts, and a number of others in the RSFSR.

Monolithic house-building is particularly efficient in the southern and seismically-active regions of the country. However, it is precisely in these regions that they continue to be carried away with panel construction. The councils of ministers, the ispolkoms of local soviets in central Asia, and builders must take decisive steps for the development of monolithic house-building.

Considerable savings are achieved in construction of low-rise housing in rural locations using monolithic designs. This is backed up by the experience in Belorussia, Lithuania, Kirghizia, and Uzbekistan. For example, the cost of one square meter of low-rise housing using monolithic designs, construction of which is carried out by the Uzbek farm construction organization, amounts to R182 as opposed to R220-R250 for the panel design. This year, Uzbekistan's rural builders intend to build at least 100,000 square meters of housing using monolithic designs, and to expand the volume considerably in the future. In general, comrades, monolithic house-building must develop on a greater scale; this goes a long way to determining success in solving the housing problem.

The planned scope of social construction cannot be ensured without industrializing it. At the moment, programs for building schools, kindergartens, and other projects using large-panel structures are being implemented in virtually all regions of the country. By 1990, it is planned to build capacities in the country to produce structures for construction of 15 million square meters of social amenities projects. In buildings using large panels, compared with frame-panel ones, the material contribution is 20 percent lower, the consumption of metal is 30-40 percent lower, and the labor expenditure is 20 percent lower. Compared with ones made of brick, with the same cost, the labor expenditure is 30-40 percent lower, and it takes a third less time.

The builders of the USSR Ministry of Construction in the north and west of the country are actively developing the construction of social amenity projects using panel design, in Kalinin, while in 1987, the ministry completed 200,000 square meters of buildings for social and cultural purposes. This year, the ministry will bring capacities up to 1 million square meters, and in 1989 to 1.7 million square meters. This will make it possible to build 110 schools and more than 350 kindergartens by industrial methods annually. Thus, from 1989, the problems both of scale and of time-scale of construction of social amenities projects will be virtually solved in the area of operation of the north and west. Meanwhile the construction organizations of the Ministry of Construction in the Urals and Siberia, the Ministry of Construction in the south and the builders of Ukraine, Kirghizia, and a number of other regions are devoting extremely little attention to developing this method.

Construction organizations and local soviets must engage more purposefully in the industrialization of construction of social projects. It is also necessary to energetically develop the construction of kindergartens, schools, and polyclinics using monolithic designs. There is experience in construction of kindergartens using monolithic designs in Georgia and Chuvashia.

In connection with the course of intensive development of individual construction, the demands for walling materials is increasing drastically. The planned program for construction of brickworks will not make it possible to meet this demand fully. Hence a decision has been adopted to develop the production of a highly efficient new material, gas-silicate blocks, capacities for which must be created more quickly than those for bricks.

At present 2.8 million cubic meters of such blocks are produced in the country, which is the same as 2.8 billion bricks. In 1990 the plan is to increase the output of blocks to 12-13 million cubic meters. Some 250,000

houses per year could be built from this amount. In 1995 the production of the blocks will be increased to 40-45 million cubic meters. Today we produced 42 billion bricks. That is, we have to (?duplicate the existing capacities) of wall materials today for these blocks.

The cost of cellular blocks is three times less than the cost of bricks, and the specific capital investment is four times less. The output of equipment and the supplying of complete works manufacturing blocks is the responsibility of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine building and the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work, and their installation is the responsibility of the Ministry of Installation and Special Construction work. Now it falls entirely on these ministries, their enterprises and organizations, the councils of ministers of the union republics and the local soviets to satisfy the demand of the population for this progressive material.

One of the most acute issues today is supplying the construction industry with house fittings. The program provides for the creation or expansion by 1990 of around 50 enterprises and factories in various regions of the country for a sharp rise in the output of linoleum, facing tiles, baths, sinks, washbasins, sanitary ceramic ware, heating apparatus, mixer taps, and other house fittings. Any hold-up in the construction of these tasks is directly reflected in the handing over of housing. Therefore it is the task of the councils of ministers of the union republics, the construction ministries, and the suppliers of equipment not to allow disruption here. The machine-building and defense ministries must fulfill their obligations, for they have been entrusted with manufacturing individual types of high-quality sanitary ware. Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Penza Oblast and several other oblasts plan to set up additional plants for this program for the production of linoleum and other matrials. It is very important that this initiative is taken up by other regions, since the house-building program mapped out by the republics, krays and oblasts considerably exceeds the 5-year plan tasks.

In spite of the acute shortage of building materials and articles, the construction of new enterprises is not proceeding satisfactorily in most regions. In the 2 years of the current 5-year plan, in the construction materials industry almost R630 million of capital investment were not taken up, or 18 [units not specified] fewer than were allocated under the plan. In 1987 48 plants and facilities were not commissioned, of which 30 were in the RSFSR, five in Kazakhstan, and three in the Ukraine. There is no way of justifying the 1987 disruption of the commissioning of a plant producing construction pottery in Irkutsk Oblast, and a plant producing ceramic facing tiles in Pskov Oblast. It is impermissible to drag out the building of a plant producing construction pottery in Tselinograd, the Kazakh SSR.

Accelerated development of the material and technical construction base is required in Siberia and the Far East. The relevant decisions have been taken, but the work is proceeding too slowly. The capital investments allocated are not being fully taken up. The question of supplying complete sets of equipment is being tackled poorly. Gosplan, Gosstroy, Gossnab, the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, and the Ministry for Construction in the eastern regions of the USSR must ensure the priority supply of materials and equipment to these regions, and the unconditional take-up of capital investment for the development of the construction base.

But we need the materials today. And therefore the main attention must be focused on better utilizing the existing enterprises. Construction workers came in for criticism at the CPSU Central Committee June 1987 Plenum for the serious shortcomings here.

Today, the situation has improved to some extent. The capacities of house-building combines are being used to the full in Belorussia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Leningrad; to the extent of 96 percent in Moscow and 94 percent in [words indistinct]. However, in the Turkmen and Uzbek SSR's, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Dagestan ASSR, Kabarda-Balkar ASSR, and some other regions of the Russian Federation, the situation is practically not changing at all.

The coefficient of the utilization of capacities of brick works is still low. This may be explained in objective terms, since both in physical and moral terms many works have aged. In practical terms, equipment from the last century is utilized in them, with tough working conditions and a large proportion of manual labor.

But at the same time, where they have engaged in reconstruction and introduced collective contracting, affairs have radically changed. Of 200 brick works that switched to collective contracting in 1988, 100 works have fulfilled the plan for the first time. In the current year a further 108 works have switched to collective contracting, and all of them have fulfilled the plan for the first quarter, while 35 loss-making works have become viable. Switching them to hire-contracting is an effective way of improving the work of brick works and other building-materials enterprises of the (?building industry).

Cooperatives have made a good start in showing their worth in the production of construction materials. There have been many reports about this in the press recently.

The law on cooperatives which will be adopted at the present session, of course, creates very broad opportunities for the development of cooperatives. And much here will continue to depend on local soviets.

Comrade deputies, the development of the construction base has literally run up against the lack of technological equipment. The need for equipment is being met by only 40 percent. The Ministries of Construction, Road and

Municipal Machine Building, of Chemical and Petroleum Machine-Building, and of Machine-Tool and Tool-Building Industry, are systematically disrupting schedules for the delivery of technological equipment for start-up construction sites, industrial construction materials, and for the construction industry. Extraordinary measures are needed to develop the capacities of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine-Building. The decision has been taken to allocate by way of redistribution, in 1989-90, an additional R800 million for the development of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine-Building. The ministry, builders, and local bodies have the task of ensuring the rapid fitting-out of new works. According to the experience of the construction of the Rzhev crane-building works, it is necessary to organize in parallel the design, construction, assembly, development of the social sphere and the training of cadres.

Of particular significances is the rapid introduction of new capacities at the "Volgatsem-Mash" works. It is precisely here that the fate of the cement industry is being determined, the development of the production of mortar [keramzit] and gas-silicate blocks. All the same, even the accelerated development of the capacities of the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine-Building takes time. For this reason, urgent measures are needed for better utilizing in this ministry the capacities which already exist. At the same time, the machine-building enterprises of other ministries have to be involved in the manufacture of equipment for the construction base. Evidently, it will be correct if, locally, the collectives of machine-building works are approached with the request to make their contribution to strengthening the base for the construction of housing and amenities in the social sphere. It is also necessary for builders to more actively develop their own machine-building.

It is not possible to ensure progress in construction without a broad utilization of chemical industry output. The decision that has been adopted provides for substantially expanded deliveries of polymer materials to construction organizations. It was planned, through this, to increase between two and three times the production of linoleum and effective foam plastics, to organize production of polymer window frames in the regions of the country where there are no forests, to ensure that reliable sealants are delivered to panel-type construction sites, to solve the question of painting staircases, to satisfy the requirements for polymer pipes, and so forth. Unfortunately, the tasks set by the Ministry of Chemical Industry are not being fulfilled.

A particularly complex situation has arisen with regard to ensuring that linoleum is available for the social construction sphere. Production of linoleum is being held back due to the shortage of raw materials. This task can be solved in the 1988-90 period by ensuring that the Zima chemical works attains its rated capacity. The Ministry of Chemical Industry, the collective of the works, and the leadership of Irkutsk Oblast ought to take the most urgent and tangible measures to facilitate this. They should know that the shortage of linoleum in the country is at present caused, in the main, by bad work at this plant.

As the scale of social construction grows, the shortage of water and gas pipes becomes ever greater. The situation is particularly tense regarding the availability of galvanized pipes. Pipes without anti-corrosion coating are in many cases installed due to the fact that there are no galvanized pipes—only to become unserviceable in a matter of 5-6 years. Gosplan, the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, and the Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy ought to take urgent measures to redress the imbalance and make the production and deliveries of pipes commensurate with the requirements of the social sphere.

Without serious measures to save resources, no balance between the capital construction plans and material resources can be safeguarded. Construction workers did fulfill the tasks of 2 years regarding materials savings. The use of metal has been reduced by 5.5 percent and of cement by 5.3 percent, but the savings tasks for 1988 are more considerable, which is why resource-saving measures must also be more effective.

Many ministries, departments and construction organizations—in fact, all of them—have worked out savings programs. It is not everywhere, however, that they are being fulfilled. It is necessary that frontranking expertise and the achievements of scientific and technological progress, of financial autonomy within production, and the check system of accounting for outlays are taken more vigorously on board.

The development of wholesale trade represents an important instrument for arriving at a balance between construction and material and technical resources, for increasing the steady rate of deliveries. Construction workers of Armenia and Estonia operated in the conditions of wholesale trade in 1987 and the experience there has shown itself to be very positive. Construction organizations of Belorussia, Lithuania, Moldavia, Latvia, Tajikistan, and the north Caucasus region have switched to wholesale trade since the start of 1988.

This progressive system of material and technical supply must be developed and perfected more vigorously.

The restructuring being carried out in the country envisages an enhancement in the role of the councils of ministers of the union republics and the local soviets of people's deputies in the process of managing the whole of social and cultural construction in their given areas. Now housing construction and public utilities construction plans, involving all sources of financing and irrespective of what department they are subordinated to, are compiled locally, in the autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts, and are finally endorsed by the union republic

councils of ministers. Councils of Ministers coordinate the fulfillment of construction plans and their volumes and the plans for the construction of utilities in this sphere on the regional level as a whole.

These important measures, genuinely expanding the rights and independence and simultaneously enhancing the responsibility of local bodies for social development have already been in operation for 2 years. However, it has so far proved impossible to implement them to the full. One of the problems consists in the fact that the potential for the financing and production potential of the construction industry as well as the capacities of construction organizations in a number of regions make it possible to do more than is envisaged by the 5-year plan.

But material resources are a restrictive element. How can one find a way out of this situation? Apparently it is expedient, starting from the formation of the plan for 1989, to provide an opportunity for republics to adopt programs for the construction of dwellings which are higher than the 5-year plan tasks, on condition that the additional requirement for material resources is covered by local sources and direct links. And in general, comrades, from whatever position we examine today the problem of housing and social construction it is necessary to repeat again and again: the strengthening of the material and technical base of the construction industry is the main thing.

For this the republics have considerable possibilities available. They have been handed over the management of construction work and now they have also been given the overwhelming majority of enterprises of the construction materials industry. And these possibilities are being considerably expanded in the conditions of the transition of territories to self-financing, of the drawing up of local budgets according to certain norms thanks to the incomes of enterprises and deductions for natural and labor resources. Of course, this is a very difficult socioeconomic task. But it is necessary already today to formulate approaches as to how to solve this task and to complete these approaches in a number of regions so that a full transition is made to the new system from the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

Comrade deputies! While building up the volume of housing, cultural, and amenity construction we must at the same time alter the architectural face of our towns and villages and move away from the inexpressiveness and monotony of buildings. The architecture of units of mass construction must acquire individual characteristics connected with national and regional traditions, national architecture, and decorative art. Elements of urban design and landscape architecture must find broader application in the formation of urban surroundings. After the adoption of the decision on increasing the standard of architecture and urban construction changes are taking place, but they are too insignificant.

Discussion of these problems with the architectural community, designers, builders and the collectives of house construction combines makes it possible to draw the conclusion that there are great possibilities for improving the architecture of mass construction right here and now, immediately. And it is necessary to exploit these possibilities more energetically. The scrapping of the old order of standardized design and the removal of unfounded restrictions promote this. Now architects and designers in their local areas have been granted broad rights to design dwellings and cultural and amenity buildings taking into account nature, climate and national features. Good use is being made of this in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Belorussia, Lvov, and some towns in Leningrad Oblast. And the architectural face of the buildings in these republics and towns is markedly different to other regions.

Many problems have accumulated in towns of historical, cultural, and architectural value. In many of these the renewal of historical buildings is not of an integrated nature. As a result valuable buildings and constructions have been pulled down and their planned structure has been disturbed. It is necessary to carry out in an integrated manner the reconstruction, modernization, capital overhaul, and restoration of areas containing old buildings and of individual buildings; and new construction must blend in organically with old buildings. For this work it is necessary to attract territorial general construction organizations and to create specialized subdivisions within them. At present construction ministries and local organs are somehow embarking very timidly on the formation of such subdivisions.

The design of urban construction complexes, especially as regards areas of historical and architectural value, should be carried out on the basis of competitions and be put forward for discussion by the broad public. And the final designs must be approved by local soviets.

The matter of ensuring a rational structure for resettlement and the optimum combination of industrial buildings with housing estates is becoming increasingly acute.

In many big cities, in violation of the endorsed general plans, the construction of industrial projects is continuing. This is done mainly as an exception, but too frequently it becomes the rule. As a result there is excessive concentration of production sites, an unjustified growth of big cities, an increase in tension concerning labor resources, a deterioration in the ecological situation, and a reduction in the level of sociocultural and consumer services for the population. The councils of ministers of union republics, and the ministries and departments, when deciding on issues of the location and construction of new enterprises, must give preference to medium-sized and small towns. And builders must develop the construction of house-building combines of a new type in these towns, aimed at building housing and social

ameneties using monolithic designs, prefabricated structures and modular materials. And here we must give a warning: Things are happening in the construction of industrial projects, so one must get to work now, without waiting.

The construction quality issue is very topical. Many things have an influence on it—the designs used, their level of technology, the way work is organized, the incentive system, the quality of the materials and products used, technological discipline, the competence of personnel, their conscientiousness, and simply elementary demand. The councils of ministers of union republics, the USSR Gosstroy, the State Committee of Architecture, ministries, organizations, and enterprises which implement construction and production of construction materials and products, and local soviets must deal more purposefully and objectively with construction quality. This will be aided by the expansion of the State Acceptance service. From 1989, it will embrace approximately half the oblast centers, and in addition to that one or two towns in republics which have no oblasts, and will accordingly embrace all the enterprises which supply materials and products for construction in those towns. True, there are as yet not many who want to switch to the State Acceptance service. We must not repeat our mistakes; and so it is right now that we must start preparatory work in towns to be transferred to State Acceptance in 1989. Gosplan and Gossnab must allocate the organizations and enterprises which are transferring to State Acceptance the metal for replacement of worn-out equipment.

The work of the State Commission for Acceptance of Housing and Social Amenities must be improved, and architectural checks on construction must be reinforced.

Comrade deputies! The debate at the session of the Supreme Soviet on the state of housing and cultural-everyday amenity construction, and the decisions to be adopted by the session, will make it possible to raise social construction to a higher level, to successfully resolve the tasks set for the 12th 5-Year Plan, and to lay a firm foundation for guaranteeing virtually every Soviet family a separate apartment or house by the year 2000.

Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Zaykov Addresses Moscow Planning Meeting

PM2505090588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Consulting With Muscovites"]

[Text] The democratization of the processes of drafting and adopting decisions is affecting more and more new aspects of our lives. A clear example of this is the lively discussion among specialists in various fields and all Muscovites on the future of the capital.

On 21 May, the Moscow Public Council on City Development discussed the progress made in drawing up the draft general plan of development in the Moscow region through the year 2010. While noting the work done thus far, the participants in the meeting also noted that the quality and pace of this work is unsatisfactory. They set the task of accelerating work on the draft and ensuring that fuller account is taken of socioeconomic, city development, ecological, and demographic factors. In the final stages, the document must be presented for broad discussion.

Questions concerning detailed planning in the center of Moscow were discussed in direct connection with the general plan. The goal is to develop the city's function as the capital and make use of its enormous historical and cultural potential. The central area must primarily become a focus of sociocultural institutions. Special attention must be paid to bringing proper order to historical architectural ensembles, squares, and highways, and there must be a comprehensive provision of facilities, parks, and trees in that area.

The session was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Azerbaijan Party, Government Appeal Published

PM2505154188 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 18 May 88 p 1

["Appeal by Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Azerbaijan Council of Ministers"; date not given]

[Text] Dear comrades!

Prevailing circumstances dictate the need to appeal to you again.

As is well known the Appeal of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia was received with due attention in both republics. The passions and emotions seething in connection with the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh have gradually begun to give way to a sober and sensible approach to the solution of the problems which have emerged.

However, in recent days the situation has again begun to be heated, and rumors and conjectures of various kinds have become more frequent, which has given rise to unhealthy sentiments and has had an adverse effect on the process of further normalization in the republic. On 16 May a meeting of young people, students, and representatives of the intelligentsia was held in Baku. Those assembled were listened to attentively by members of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

People's natural anxiety and their desire to know more about the situation taking shape in Nagorno-Karabakh and in our republic and in the Armenian SSR and to receive replies to the questions which perturb them are understandable and close to us. But this should not take place in an atmosphere of nervousness and excitement, through "meetings democracy" which, as we have all become convinced, is fraught with the danger of unpredictable consequences. The questions raised by the meeting's participants have been examined attentively. Immediate steps will be taken on some of them. But it should be considered that questions were also raised whose solution requires in-depth study and a certain amount of time.

The present disquiet of a certain section of the population has been generated in particular by events which took place in some population centers of the Armenian SSR's Araratskiy Rayon 11 May this year, where incidents occurred between local inhabitants. There are casualties but no fatalities. The party and soviet organs are taking steps to normalize the situation. The USSR Prosecutor's Office is investigating all cases. There can be no doubt that the culprits will be brought to book with all the severity of the law.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and government are taking all necessary steps to normalize the situation and to set up a normal rhythm of life. In this unsettled situation each of us is required to display patience, the utmost restraint, the qualities inherent in the best representatives of our people. In no circumstances must we provide a pretext for anyone, by his thoughtless talk or thoughtless actions, splitting the many centuries-old traditions of the friendship of the peoples and discrediting restructuring in the country and the first steps of democratization.

The CPSU Central Committee today attaches paramount importance to the development of inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] relations. A special CPSU Central Committee plenum will be devoted to this. The party states firmly that all problems of national relations can be resolved only within the framework of legality and the democratic processes, without the slightest detriment to our peoples' international cohesion.

The Azerbaijan people have always been an example of socialist internationalism. We are rightly proud of these traditions and our joint duty is to preserve them sacredly and to augment them.

Addressing the multinational population of Azerbaijan, we appeal to the wisdom of the elders, to our mothers, to the reason of our young people: Only restraint and dignity, a sense of profound responsibility for the destiny of our people can attest to their will and the strength of their spirit.

We appeal to all fellow countrymen and citizens of the republic—Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Russians, and peoples of all nationalities living in Azerbaijan: Do not succumb to emotions and rumors, deal a resolute rebuff to the inciters and provocateurs sowing international enmity, display calm and restraint. Remember that we are all responsible for the honor of our republic, for the honor of the Azerbaijani people.

Report on 'Nationalist League' Ridiculed
PM2505080188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 88 First Edition p 5

[A. Vasilkov article under the rubric "Danger: Disinformation": "The 'League' in Toto"]

[Text] Another attempt has been made by certain anti-Soviet circles to disinform the Western public. Radio "Free Europe," broadcasting from Munich, the other day publicized a "Lithuanian Freedom League" of which "nothing had ever been heard in the West" and which had allegedly existed in Soviet Lithuania "for 10 years."

Citing the so-called Lithuanian Information Center in New York, the same radio station reported that the "Lithuanian Freedom League" allegedly operates underground since, you see, the "league members cannot sign its statements, since they would be arrested on the spot." It was reported that the "league" is preparing to organize mass nationalist "demonstrations and other actions" in Lithuania in the near future.

But the compilers of the disinformation "forgot" to mention a fact well known to them. And a very notable fact at that. Namely, that the "league" is made up of just one person—a certain Algirdas Statkyavichyus. Who is he? He was born in 1923, was an agent for Hitler's intelligence and the Gestapo during the war, personally participated in the exposure and arrest of antifascists, and in 1951 was sentenced as a war criminal.

At the end of 1987 Statkyavichyus filed an application to emigrate to the United States. In order to arrive overseas with the reputation of a "politician," he simultaneously declared himself the founder of the so-called "Lithuanian Freedom League."

What more can we say about this? It was reported that on 21 May the aforesaid "league" left in toto for the United States aboard a Pan American aircraft.

Paper Examines Demands of Crimean Tatars
PM2505085588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 88 p 4

[Article by "our special correspondent" I. Sichka: "Crimean Story; Making It Possible To See New Facets of an Old Problem"]

[Text] Simferopol—What could be closer to a person than his native land, the place where he was born and raised, where he met his first love, and where the graves

of his relatives and friends are? Fate may take him to the other end of the world, but the light of his home still draws him and warms him even at that distance. "A person without kith or kin" is what people call those who have forgotten the road to their birthplace and lost their language, thus losing the major component of the human personality.

It is bitter and painful when the fire has gone out in your hearth, and no land of milk and honey can soothe a man or make him forget the motherland, however many years may have passed since he left. For tens of thousands of Crimean Tatars who are now settled throughout the country, everything connected with their home and the history of their people is becoming particularly acute.

In July 1987, a state commission was formed to look into the Crimean Tatars' complaints. A large amount of painstaking work lies ahead and it is being done. Reports on the work of the commission appear regularly in the press. Some people would probably like the knot of problems resolved in a day. That desire is understandable. However, the obstacles and layers of decades cannot be cleared away quickly. It is essential to fully restore the historical truth and to consider the interests of the Crimean Tatars and the other peoples of the country. In so doing, we must not destroy, but strengthen fraternal friendship—our great gain.

...Simferopol. The middle of May. A respectable crowd had gathered on the sidewalks on either side of Kirov Avenue, one of the main thoroughfares. Everyone was looking with interest at the square in front of the oblispolkom building. And this square presented a strange spectacle. While it is normally quite crowded, it was totally deserted on this occasion. Only at its far end, opposite the entrance to the oblispolkom, stood a rather large group of people formed into a dense square. There appeared to be 100 of them, possibly 150. There were no posters or banners. The actual oblispolkom building and the entire square adjacent to it were cordoned off by the militia. My attempt to get through the militia cordon was prevented quite politely but firmly.

That was really the entire picture. The people in the square were standing, doing absolutely nothing. They were simply standing—that was it. The militiamen were also standing, as were gapers and casual passersby.

After looking around a while, I noticed that the people gathered on the near side of the militia cordon were behaving in various ways.... Some were simply watching what was happening, while others, gathered into groups, were arguing heatedly about something. I listened to the talk and realized that Crimean Tatars were taking part. It was hard to call it a discussion.

"My motherland is here, my father and mother were born here, and I want to live here," a young bespectacled man said.

"Everyone wants to live here," objected a woman with a shopping bag stuffed with bottles of milk. "My father lives in Belorussia. He wants to move here too, but they won't register him...."

"But your father is leaving his birthplace, while we want to return to ours, to the place where we lived, and where our relatives' graves are."

"Why are you coming here? Live where you have been living," an old man with a medal ribbon on his chest said angrily.

The dispute was already spreading to the other people gathered there. Everyone was arguing.

A middle-aged man in a suit and tie argued: "During the war, there were traitors and turncoats among the Crimean Tatars. But there were also Ukrainians and Russians who served in the police. No one accuses the entire Ukrainian people of treason because of some individual renegades. And not all Ukrainians are equated with the supporters of Bandera [Ukrainian nationalist]."

"Then why are they organizing this nuisance here?"

"What nuisance? People have come here, they're standing around, they're not touching anyone, not behaving like hooligans. They have problems, and they have come to see the authorities to get them resolved. They are not disrupting order."

Replies could be heard from every side. The mood of the people was fluctuating from friendly to indignantly hostile. However, it was a long way from the critical point. Nonetheless....

"Comrades, please calm down!" a voice was heard.

I will interrupt my observations here and explain what is actually happening now in the Crimea.

Crimean Tatars regard 18 May as their day of national mourning. It was 44 years ago on this day that, in accordance with a State Defense Committee resolution, all Crimean Tatars were expelled from the peninsula. According to figures published in the local press, 228,543 people, 191,088 of them Crimean Tatars, were loaded into railcars and taken to various parts of Central Asia and Siberia. The wholesale accusation of collaboration with the occupiers was leveled not only against the Tatars, but against the Bulgarians, Armenians, and Greeks living in the Crimea.... Almost a third of the population was expelled from the Crimea. As we know, the same fate befell the Chechens, Ingush, Karachai, and Kalmyks. The label of treason was placed on entire peoples.

However, thousands of Crimean Tatars, alongside representatives of other nationalities, fought in the ranks of the Red Army and in the partisan detachments operating

in the Crimea. Five Crimean Tatars were awarded the title Hero of the Soviet Union. Before the war, the population of the Crimea was multinational: Russians made up 42 percent, Crimean Tatars 25 percent, and Ukrainians 11 percent. During the years of Hitler's occupation, 20 percent of the Crimea's entire prewar population was shot, tortured, or sent to Germany. Indeed, it is now quite difficult to restore the real picture of the years before and during the war. After the evacuation, the history of the Crimea was thoroughly "reshuffled." Only specialist historians can restore it.

The 20th party congress assessed the injustice that had been done. Since April 1956, the Crimean Tatars have no longer been regarded as "special resettlers." And in September 1967, a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree rescinded the unjustified accusation of criminal treason. After that, several families were drawn back to their native land. No official bans on the Tatars' return to the Crimea appeared. But their registration there was accompanied by huge delays, to put it mildly. Virtually all Crimean Tatars settled in rural areas, buying private homes. And then they spent years waiting for registration and the recognition of their right to own a home.

In about 1977, the registration of Crimean Tatars in the Crimea came to an almost total halt. There were individual cases of enforced reexpulsion. A relative "thaw" came only last year. According to figures from the Crimean Oblispolkom, between January and the middle of May this year, 4,183 people were registered. In all, some 17,500 Crimean Tatars live here officially.

I had a talk on this subject with P.A. Fedulichev, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom, who heads the oblast commission on questions connected with employment and the registration of Crimean Tatars.

"The problem is acute, complex, and delicate. With a soulless bureaucratic approach it could become unpredictable."

I realize what is at issue. Sometimes words applicable to "extremists" are used against the Crimean Tatars. Are there people among them of an extremist inclination, people who violate Soviet laws? There undoubtedly are. But only a few. The overwhelming majority of Crimean Tatars condemn these people. We must introduce clarity if we are to avoid false rumors. As a Soviet person usually understands it, the word "extremist" is most often associated with reports of the escapades of various bellicose groups in the West connected with hijacking, kidnapping, and the organization of acts of terrorism, murder, and explosions. P.A. Fedulichev assured me that the Crimean Tatars have no close involvement with anything of that kind. There have been no clashes, still less any casualties.

What were the people gathered in the square in front of the oblispolkom demanding? Registration. I met with many of them. Nearly all of them live in the villages of Simferopolskiy Rayon and a few other rayons. In houses bought with their own money. However, the whole trouble is that the local authorities do not recognize the legality of these transactions, and, consequently, refuse registration. Why? Under the law, to buy a house in a village you need not only the agrrement of the vendor and buyer but the concurrence of the kolkhoz board of the sovkhoz and rural soviet management. A Crimean Tatar approaches a kolkhoz chairman and says: "I want to work on your kolkhoz; let me buy a house." But the chairman replies: "I can't. I don't need people; we have more than enough of our own." However, on the wall at the kolkhoz board there is a poster listing the workers wanted: milkmaids, machine operators. There are also other "convincing" reasons for refusal. As a result, it often ends with the owners leaving a house after receiving the required sum from the buyer and with a Crimean Tatar family moving into the house and then spending a long time seeking recognition of their rights. They are all rural people and there is nowhere for them to go except a kolkhoz. On the whole, the population remains virtually unchanged: One family leaves the Crimea, another arrives. According to some assessments, about 500 families are seeking registration in this way.

The second demand concerns the restoration of the prewar status of the Crimean autonomous republic as a guarantee of the preservation of the Crimean-Tatar nationality. Indeed, this is already a prerogative of the state commission. Excessive emotions and ambitions and pressure on local authorities will not help. This question should be resolved in a calm atmosphere.

On the evening of 17 May, I attended a conference of an enterprising group of Crimean Tatars in Simferopolskiy Rayon. There was a discussion of the plan of action for the next day. Considering that I had come to this "event" by unofficial means, without any escort, I expected to see something underground and illegal with all its attendant attributes. Reality proved to be far more prosaic. Without hiding from anyone, 25-30 people representing all villages had assembled. They elected a presidium and secretary and approved the agenda and regulations, just as we see at ordinary meetings. One of the "initiators of the enterprise" briefly reviewed the last meeting with leaders of the local organs of power. Then there was a discussion of an article in that day's issue of KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA. It is important that for the first time in postwar years the local press has expressed itself openly and frankly with regard to the injustice against the Crimean Tatars. The very fact that there has been such a publication guiding public opinion correctly was welcomed with joy by the gathering.

"I believe that since the authorities have shown their readiness to meet us halfway, we must also show that people can talk with us like human beings." This statement came from agronomist S. Abdukadyrov, who is, incidentally, a rayon soviet deputy. "In my opinion, no demonstrations or meetings should be held in the city. At the cemetery, we should remember the dead, as is the custom, and that's all."

At the end of the meeting, the participants unanimously agreed to carry out no further measures in the city. The next day the organs of power were notified of this decision.

At about noon on 18 May I was approaching the cemetery in Donskoy village. Some 100 people had already gathered there. Most of them were young or middle-aged. The old men had brought along a 90-year-old mullah. Custom requires that a public service be conducted. But there was a delay. It turned out that not all the vehicles carrying Crimean Tatars to the cemetery from the other end of the rayon had been able to reach the cemetery.

Let's be frank: The local authorities in Simferopol are doing much now to resolve the problem of the Crimean Tatars. Measures are being taken to satisfy their needs and find work for them. The question of the organized resettlement of some Tatars in the Crimea is being resolved, and a new "Agrarnyy" sovkhoz has been created. Their industrious hands will probably not prove redundant here.

Party Committees Manipulate Delegate Elections

PM2505093588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 88 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent V. Cherepanov report under the rubric "Delegate Elections to the 19th All-Union Party Conference Under Way": "The Stereotype Was at Work"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk—"Please tell us how our oblast's delegation to the 19th all-union party conference is being formed," a group of readers wrote to the newspaper CHELYABINSKIY RABOCHIY. This desire is entirely understandable.

Meeting the request, the editorial office published an article by L. Rabchenok, chief of the CPSU Obkom Organizational Party Work Department, under the headline: "Candidates Nominated in Collectives." Discussing in detail the democratic procedure for electing delegates to the conference, the norms laid down for representation, and the need for extensive glasnost in this matter, the writer summed up: "The oblast party organization has always sent its best representatives to the party's supreme forums. That will be the case this time too."

However, scarcely had the newspaper reached its subscribers than phones started ringing at the PRAVDA correspondent's office. One of the first calls came from the Magnitogorsk Metallurgical Combine: "We have nothing against steelworker N. Vertoletskiy (his surname was distorted in the article—V.Ch.), who was allegedly nominated by the collective at our No 1 open-hearth furnace. Furthermore, we think that he is entirely deserving of the nomination. But in fact we have not actually nominated anyone yet, the meeting is only just at the planning stage. But why hold it now that everything has been decided without asking us?"

I got in touch with N. Kuklinov, first secretary of Magnitogorsk's Ordzhonikidzevskiy CPSU Raykom.

"Unfortunately, the stereotype was at work," he said. "We are now correcting the mistake."

It turns out that, having been instructed by the obkom to immediately report back as to whom the party organization and labor collectives were nominating for election as delegates to the all-union party conference, the raykom did not bother with extra trouble and concerns but phoned party committees and enterprise leaders and "agreed" on the candidates without leaving the phone.

Cases of "nominations" of this kind have also been reported by the Kartaly Railroad Station and the Kolyushchenko Road Machinery Plant. And it was quite awkward when, on the day of the Tsentralnyy Rayon party aktiv meeting, which had only just nominated the most energetic campaigners for restructuring, the evening newspaper published a roll of candidates from the city party organization, including some from...Tsentralnyy Rayon. And the list was very limited: Of the 11 candidates proposed by the rayon's party organizations and labor collectives, only 2 were indicated.

Suggestions To Improve Work of Village Soviets

WA18000331B Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Apr 88 pp 1,2

[Article by Yu. Shpakov, PRAVDA correspondent, under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "The First Level of Power"—first two paragraphs are editorial introduction; boldface and italics as published]

[Excerpts] *The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum most emphatically posed the question of dramatically raising the role of the soviets as the core of our society's political system and its state embodiment. It is specifically here, in the formation and functioning of the soviets that the democratic principles of socialism must be realized first of all. In a certain sense, today we are discussing the need for a rebirth of the power of the soviets as Lenin understood it. The task of tasks is to see to it that soviets at all levels are actually functioning, resourceful, full-fledged centers of state power and government. In advance of the 19th all-union party conference, PRAVDA proposes to publish a number of materials analyzing the work of soviets at all levels, revealing the most typical shortcomings in their activity, and telling about their experience. Today's discussion is focused on the first level of power—the village soviet.*

The Law of the RSFSR on the Settlement and Village Soviet of People's Deputies states that "This organ of state power decides all questions of local significance and

guides state, economic and cultural construction on its territory." The rights, as we see, are very broad. But what are the possibilities for their practical realization?

The Components of Authority [subhead]

A heated conflict recently erupted between the chairman of the executive committee of the Rostovkinskiy Village Soviet and the management of the "Sibirskaya" poultry factory. There is no need to go into detail. I will only say that the disagreement started with the question of who should be subordinate to whom and how the rights and obligations articulated in the law should be understood.

The Omskiy CPSU Raykom self-critically admits that it made a serious miscalculation when it recommended a random person for a responsible position. He did not justify the hopes placed him and committed numerous mistakes.

The story of S. Metelev's appearance in the post of the head of the local executive authority causes astonishment at the very least. He worked in UVD [Administration of Internal Affairs] organs and was fired with a strict party penalty. He then went through several positions and rayons, went to live with relatives at a settlement in the vicinity of the poultry factory and was hired as an economist at the enterprise. Less than 3 months later, he headed the ispolkom. Clearly the voters did not have the slightest idea whom they were voting for.

I asked the people I was talking to could Metelev have been admitted to the apparatus of the party raykom as, let us say, an instructor. Of course not, was their astonished response: only people who have given a good account of themselves in their work can be admitted to the party apparatus. Does this mean that anyone at all can be nominated to head a village soviet? Even though not so very much depends on an instructor, an ispolkom chairman is a much more important figure.

Here is one more comparison. Among the almost 1500 oblast party committee staff personnel, only a few do not have higher education. More than 83 percent of the party committee secretaries of sovkhozes and kolkhozes are VUZ graduates. But only a little more than one-third of the total number of the chairmen of village soviet ispolkoms have VUZ diplomas. The people advanced to this post are frequently those who have not proven their worth in their previous job or who even have a tarnished reputation. In general, it is not difficult to understand the situation: the pay of a kolkhoz or sovkhoz specialist is considerably higher and no one voluntarily aspires to ephemeral power. And it is entirely incomprehensible why chairmen of village soviets are excluded from the list of persons receiving bonuses based on performance for the agricultural year. Secretaries of party and Komsomol organizations receive them, trade union heads receive them, but ispolkom personnel receive nothing.

The authority of the organs of state power is formed in social consciousness. It forms from many factors that are occasionally unobtrusive and relatively insignificant but that are in their aggregate quite important. For example, it is considered to be in the order of things that a sovkhoz director in a planning meeting gives a severe dressing-down to a village ispolkom chairman for dirty roads, for irregular mail delivery, for an inoperative club and that the latter meekly agrees with the criticism. Indeed there is no need to object: since the village soviet is responsible for all questions of local significance, it is also guilty of everything. And the fact that the dressing-down takes place before the eyes of specialists, many of whom are deputies, no one is particularly surprised. Everyone is used to it. The reader may object that a sovkhoz director or kolkhoz chairman may receive a dressing-down at a sitting of the ispolkom. This is a theoretical possibility. But in reality, a "representative of power" will hardly want to spoil relations with those upon whom they are entirely dependent.

How can the authority of local organs of power be raised? Where should we begin the decisive restructuring of a clearly obsolete system of interrelations? This topic was thoroughly discussed at the Luzanskiy Village Soviet—one of the largest in the oblast.

A. Klast, secondary school teacher: "I believe that it is necessary to significantly reduce the unconscionably wide range of the rights and obligations of village and settlement soviets, and to bring them into line with vital necessity and practical possibilities. The efforts of the soviet must be concentrated in the sphere of the population's interests but not on taking the place of social organizations, rayon institutions or work collectives."

G. Golikova, operator at a swine-fattening complex: "A good decree was recently issued on bringing order to the use of official motor vehicles. Why not give some of the vehicles that become available to the village soviets? At the same time they could also be assigned limits on fuel and provided with repair services. We should also improve the training of deputies and elect the village soviet not for 2.5 years but for a longer period. Otherwise their term of office expires just when they are getting into the flow of things."

A. Anoshin, milling machine operator in the central repair shops on the "Luzinskiy" Sovkhoz: "It would be better if chairmen of village soviet ispolkoms were elected by direct vote and if there were always several candidates. It would make sense to define their status clearly and to make their pay dependent on the performance of the enterprises situated on the soviet's territory."

S. Gorovoy, village ispolkom chairman: "The soviet must have more freedom to dispose of the budget and especially of deductions from the profits of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, payments for capital, human resources, etc. Party organs can do a great deal to strengthen the

authority of village soviets. If they strictly demand that Communist managers give full weight to all decisions by organs of state power and if they continuously exemplify a respectful attitude toward those elected by the people, our work will be easier."

Such proposals have also been expressed. While multiple authority exists in the countryside today, most issues are decided within the walls of the rayon party committee. Would it not be better to make the rayispolkom the single headquarters, to strengthen it by abolishing the RAPO [Rayon Agro-Industrial Association] and branch departments of the CPSU Raykom in order to make it truly efficacious and authoritative? The party organ must exercise political leadership, screen, educate and place cadres, and oversee the execution of decisions. It must not in any measure take the place of organs of soviet power or economic managers.

The slogan 'All Power to the Soviets,' which was born in revolutionary struggle, acquires a special ring today. But its practical implementation is hindered by many incorrect, deeply rooted concepts, and stiff habits and convictions. Nevertheless, the problem must be resolved.

Burlatskiy on Party Conference, 'Conservatives'
PM2405112188 Paris LE FIGARO in French 20 May 88 p 4

[Report on interview with Fedor Burlatskiy, head of the Soviet Human Rights Commission, by Pierre Bocev in Paris; date not given]

[Text] The CPSU All-Union Conference in June will not be a political earthquake. "Neither the Central Committee nor the Politburo will be entirely renewed." Fedor Burlatskiy, prominent contributor to the weekly LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and one of the leading advocates of glasnost, told us this on a visit to Paris for meetings with Western human rights organizations.

This 19th CPSU conference, the first since 1941, is set for 29 June and will be attended by some 5,000 delegates. Faced with conservative opposition, which is strongly condemned in the Soviet press, Mikhail Gorbachev is counting on this extraordinary party meeting to make his reforms "irreversible." To ensure acceptance of the various stages of the reforms, the general secretary needs the Central Committee—the CPSU's "parliament," almost two thirds of whose members held their positions before he came to power in 1985. The renewal of this group of administrators is a priority for Mikhail Gorbachev: They were all in office under Brezhnev and many still follow the former leader's ideas.

According to Burlatskiy, a journalist and writer who was close to Krushchev, "around 50 people" in the Central Committee have lost their posts since the last ordinary congress in 1986, "either through death or retirement." "They will be replaced, but I do not know by who."

The only thing that seems out of the question is the "Gorbachev landslide," which Gorbachev needs to truly consolidate his power. "If there are changes (in the composition of the party leadership—LE FIGARO editor's note)," our interlocutor said, "I do not think they will be very far-reaching."

Does this mean the conference will be postponed, as Andrey Sakharov and nine other famous intellectuals have suggested, to ensure that all delegates are "supporters of restructuring"? This, Fedor Burlatskiy stressed, is "highly unlikely."

However, in his view, "the time is right; there has been an upsurge of support for the reformists, and the conservatives are floundering."

Thus far, this opposition, which is said to be headed by Yegor Ligachev, the party's number two man, has only one name. It is that of Nina Andreyeva, a chemistry teacher from Leningrad. She wrote a "Reader's Letter," which was published by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 13 March. It was a bombshell. After a long silence, PRAVDA condemned it on 6 April as an "antirestructuring manifesto." Since then, the reformers have had the wind in their sails.

[Bocev] Who is Nina Andreyeva?

[Burlatskiy] She exists; it is not a pseudonym. We have checked it out. Her husband was expelled from the CPSU for sending anonymous letters of denunciation. She is known in Leningrad for sending newspapers files on the criminal activities of local leaders. But who wrote the letter with her? It was clearly a group. Everything points to that—the way in which the problems were set out, the style, the information cited. As such, it was a concerted political action, weighed up by several people and possibly not just within editorial boards. Some SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA journalists were involved, and possibly others, but there is no proof.

[Bocev] Who could it be?

[Burlatskiy] Someone in the Politburo.

[Bocev] Do you mean Ligachev?

The answer was ambiguous: "I will not draw that sort of conclusion. I will leave that to you...."

And what is Ligachev's role in the leadership? Is he still responsible for ideology, or has he had to hand over this key area to Aleksandr Yakovlev, who is very close to the general secretary? There was no clear answer on this point either, but all indications are that the number two has lost some of his responsibilities.

"Both are Central Committee secretaries, both are responsible for ideology. No one knows exactly how the roles are divided. However, Yakovlev is primarily

responsible for theory, ideological concepts, national questions, economic reform, and political strategy. Ligachev exercises more direct supervision over the press."

Careerists Within Party Assailed

PM2505125388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 88 Second Edition p 1

[Vladimir Loktev "Frank Discussion": "Seek Out Harder Work"]

[Text] As each day passes, bringing us closer to the 19th all-union party conference, the activeness of social thought in the press and in radio and television broadcasts becomes increasingly marked. This is natural. Glasnost and democratization have become part of our life since the beginning of restructuring. Like a mighty torrent, the acute problems which accumulated unseen during the years of stagnation have poured into the mainstream of the river of information.

The editorial mailbag in recent months has been a fount of ideas, opinions, and proposals. What have the letters been about? In the main about those things which prevent people from living and working in the new way. In quite a few of them the writers raise questions of internal party life and express their opinions (sometimes tinged with alarm) on the party's qualitative composition and prestige.

In my view, this concern is certainly prompted, on the one hand, by people's conscious faith in the ability of the party as the vanguard of our society to create firm foundations to ensure the irreversibility and deepening of the processes of renewal, to raise the country to the topmost heights, and to restore socialism's Leninist complection. On the other hand, it is caused by the realization that at present by no means all party members have properly joined in the struggle to implement these tasks. Furthermore, some of them are adopting a passive, wait-and-see stance.

Unfortunately, there are also some whose conduct is unworthy. But the most disgraceful fact for every Communist and for the party as a whole is when unprincipled, money-grubbing tricksters capable of not only violating the CPSU Rules but also breaking the law manage to join its ranks. They bring disgrace to the party and their deplorable "example" gives rise to indignant letters.

Here is one such letter. Its author, Stavropol engineer Ye. Udaltsov, a non-party man by the way, believes that the party's ranks contain many people who are unworthy of the name Communist and who "use their party card to make themselves a career and secure benefits for themselves and their families." He proposes that "only those people whom the party needs, those who have not lost their concept of honor, conscience, and duty and who meet the Leninist criteria for evaluating a Communist's personal qualities in their original sense, be left in the party." The letter ends with the categorical demand: "It is necessary to establish order in the way of life of party members, particularly officials. I firmly believe that a true Communist should not seek a fatter slice of the cake but choose harder work."

V.I. Lenin, our party's founder, attached special significance to the purity of its ranks and insisted on resolutely getting rid of those who "latched on" to the ruling party for selfish reasons. He warned: "People who join the party for reasons of self-advancement must not be accepted, they must be driven out of the party."

Unfortunately, this demand is not always observed most rigorously. Nevertheless, even in those years when the viruses of mutual protection, complacency, and servility began to penetrate the pores of the social organism, including the party, the CPSU managed to summon up the energy to cleanse itself of alien elements. Suffice it to say that from 1976 through 1985 hundreds of thousands of people were expelled from the party for actions incompatible with the title of Communist.

But it would be unpardonable to close one's eyes to the obvious fact that to this day a reliable barrier has still not been erected to protect the party from the penetration of its ranks by unworthy people seeking personal advantage.

The recent report "On the Results of Admission to the CPSU in 1987" contains the figure 19,468,786. That is how many people have been accorded the high honor of membership of the advanced and most conscious section of our society. They have all pledged to observe the CPSU Rules. But I would not be lying if I said that there are some among them who, to put it mildly, finagled. This conviction is based on personal experience. I have repeatedly encountered from some party members passivity, indifference toward the collective's affairs, and violations of the norms of party conduct. What am I driving at? The same old point: We can and must stop people from remaining aloof from their obligations and from being merely detached observers of what is happening in our life if the questions of filling the CPSU's ranks are resolved as rigorously and responsibly as possible. Otherwise the party will become "diluted" among the masses and will lose its organizing and directing force within society.

I shall never forget an instructive example which I heard recently concerning admission to the party. The high-handed chief of the planning and finance department was dismissed from his post in the apparatus of a prestigious institute. There was one local candidate for the vacancy—a woman with higher education who, in her colleagues' general opinion, was a knowledgeable and intelligent specialist. The party bureau proposed her as a candidate, the institution's leadership seemed to have no objection, but nevertheless a doubt was expressed: It is a responsible section, it was argued, it is preferable that it be headed by a Communist. Rumors to that effect

filtered down to the candidate for the post and she hastily applied to become a candidate member of the CPSU. The department's staffers viewed her actions as careerist. Today it is hard to judge whether this was a sincere impulse which coincided with her nomination for a leading post or whether it was an attempt to secure a sought-after appointment at all costs. Eventually the party bureau rejected her application and the promising specialist left.

What thoughts are prompted by that story, a story familiar to many? I think that the woman in question should not be judged harshly. She is just another victim of the stereotype firmly embedded in our consciousness: Every chief must be a party member. Yes, that is almost always the way of things. Among your leaders and colleagues are there many nonparty people with prospects? A rhetorical question, perhaps. The time has come to really abolish that stereotype. Party membership should not be made an attribute essential to official advancement. There were times when, for a number of objective and historically justified reasons, cadre policy was the prerogative of the party. Now, in the 8th decade of Soviet power, several generations have grown up who cannot picture themselves outside our socialist way of life. Consequently, responsible areas can also be entrusted to competent, efficient, honest people who happen not to be party members. The party can only benefit from that. It will be joined by worthy people with firm ideological convictions and active fighters for restructuring....

...Our country is living through a truly complex and crucial stage of renewal. The first steps toward the new guidelines of progress are not easy. At this difficult and responsible time for the motherland's destiny Communists must make full use of the party member's main privilege—that of being where things are difficult and where personal interests give way to public interests.

"We summon you to difficult work," said V.I. Lenin in his address to the workers and the working peasantry and to those who are "sincere supporters of communism," urging them to join the party. And they responded to their leader's call. They risked their lives to defend the revolution, selflessly and despite incredible privations they laid the foundations of socialism. That was in that most difficult year 1919.

The revolution continues today, but on a new qualitative basis. Lenin's appeal rings out anew. It is addressed to us, the descendants of those pioneers, their grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

UK 'Panorama' Program Examines Restructuring

LD2505190088 London BBC Television Network in English 2030 GMT 23 May 88

["Panorama" program, featuring a report by Gavin Hewitt: "A Revolution Without Shots"]

[Excerpts] [Hewitt] In the Soviet Union, the past lives: World War II is solemnly remembered as if victory were only yesterday. Each year on Victory Day, thousands of people gather in what was formerly Stalingrad to commemorate the defeat of the Nazis. For the Soviet people, victory was the greatest moment on the road of socialist progress. But it is the past which is now under scrutiny as part of Mr Gorbachev's revolution to reform the Soviet Union. A people accustomed to the symbols of achievement is now being asked to debate what has gone wrong with their society. Mr Gorbachev has called it a "revolution without shots." It's 3 years since Mr Gorbachev took charge in the Kremlin and inherited a crisis. The Soviet economy was failing, undermining the nation's status as a superpower. So, Mr Gorbachev launched perestroyka—the restructuring of Soviet society—but his reforms are bitterly opposed, and his supporters talk of battle.

[OGONEK editor Vitaliy Korotich, identified by caption] This revolution, of course, has its wounded, killed, deserters, and, of course, it's war: It's fight now.

[Central Committee member Valentin Falin, identified by caption speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation] I think that Mr Gorbachev and the program of perestroyka cannot be separated at all. Essentially, these have become identical—Gorbachev and perestroyka, and perestroyka and Gorbachev. Therefore, his fate is perestroyka, and to a great extent, the fate of perestroyka depends on Gorbachev.

[Hewitt] Here in the Soviet Union, there is an unprecedented struggle going on between reformers and conservatives. The argument is largely being conducted in code, through expressing different attitudes towards a figure of history, Stalin. The reason is this: Many of the institutions, the structures of power, and the economy were built during Stalin's years, and if Mr Gorbachev is to succeed with his revolution, then it's Stalin's Soviet Union he has to dismantle. [passage omitted]

At the heart of the historical argument are the current reforms, for it's Stalin's system which is under assault, and many bureaucrats and party officials are fearful of losing their privileges.

Vitaliy Korotich is editor of the weekly magazine OGONEK, and is considered close to Mr Gorbachev. He believes socialism can only be made to work in the Soviet Union if it rids itself of Stalin's legacy, a cloud which still hangs over the country.

[Korotich] All my life I had Stalin inside me. But it was small, school Stalin; those who were politicians, they have big Stalins.

[Hewitt] Is he still popular today—Stalin?

[Korotich] He's still popular as sign of order because not everybody can live in conditions of freedom. And Stalin, Stalin—it was sign of order; it were no prosititutes, it were no terribly rich people, it was not people who are

looking for order, it was all that, and if it was problem with something Stalin simply killed people, whom he don't like. It was so simple, simple solutions of all complicated questions.

[Hewitt] The debate over Stalin even reaches into the classroom. A year ago Stalin's crimes were not even mentioned. Here at a school in Volgograd, they're learning history from the newspapers, their textbooks silent on the subject of Stalin's terror. [passage omitted]

Only Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution, remains standing, as other idols of the past are torn down. Mr Gorbachev has justified his reforms as being a return to the socialist ideals of Lenin which, it is now argued, Stalin perverted. When he died in 1924, it was Lenin's wish that Stalin should not succeed him.

In rehearsal at a Moscow theater is a play where for the first time even Lenin is portrayed as a human being with failings. Conservatives are still trying to prevent the play appearing because Lenin is a spiritual figurehead of Soviet society and beyond criticism. Lenin appears on stage and is played by a well-known Soviet actor. The play, called "Further, Further, Further", is written by Mikhail Shatrov, whose father was shot during Stalin's rule.

What in particular angers the conservatives is that Lenin apologizes to the audience for allowing Stalin to succeed him. But Shatrov believes that the Soviet people have to understand their past, if they are to escape it.

[Shatrov, speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation] The principal thing for us about the figure of Lenin today is that he is not a god. He is not a religion but a human being who didn't manage to achieve everything we should have today. What is most important for us is his method, that approach he used to solving problems. And the last thing I want to say is that for Lenin, man was always the goal, whereas for Stalin, man was the means.

[Hewitt] The official history of Stalin's rise to power is now being rewritten. Dmitriy Volkogonov, a three-star general, is completing the first serious biography of Stalin to be published in the Soviet Union.

[Volkogonov, speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation] It's not easy to look into the eyes of history, and sometimes it's frightening. Sometimes it's very difficult, but you nevertheless have to. When we do look into the eyes of the past, what we see are quite a number of negative aspects which unfortunately survived into our life now: Bureaucratism, dogmatism, totalitarian methods, the perversion of soicalist principles which took place in our history. All of them have their roots in Stalin's time.

[Hewitt] As the archives are being opened, more and more horrors are tumbling from the cupboard of Soviet history. We were told that Mr Gorbachev has been shown a document detailing how Stalin personally ordered the torture of his prisoners. Mr Gorbachev feels he has to address the question of history both in order to destroy Stalin's legacy but also to discredit his opponents, who are resisting his reforms, by revealing the truth about the system they defend. Some reformers go even further and are calling for Soviet society to be completely rebuilt.

[Historical Archive Institute Director Yuriy Afansayev, identified by caption, speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation] The point is that we have been constructing a new society, a new edifice for the last 70 years, and at the end of those 70 years, we have become aware that the house we built is badly adapted for living in. Not only is it not comfortable or cosy; it is often bad or intolerable to live in. So, we have decided that the house has to be completely reconstructed.

[Hewitt] On the outskirts of Moscow is Stalin's Park to Economic Achievement. But it's the Soviet economy that is now most in need of reform. [passage omitted]

The government knows that raising prices is essential for its reforms to work but admits there are risks, while perestroyka is showing so few results.

[Professor Abel Aganbegyan, chief economic advisor to Gorbachev, identified by caption, speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation] Of course, there are certain risks. There is a strata [as heard] of the population which is not happy and which expresses openly in the press its various opinions on this subject. That is why a discussion regarding this issue will take place before a resolution is adopted. And if the majority of the population does not agree with the necessity to raise prices, bearing in mind total compensation of course, then from my point of view we will be forced not to raise those prices. [passage omitted]

In reality, I can say that of course perestroyka is experiencing more difficulties than we expected. It's taking place more slowly than we expected and with more opposition than we expected, and I think that many of restructuring still lie ahead. They are not behind us. And each defender of perestroyka is preparing himself for new battles.

[Hewitt] There is already dissatisfaction with one part of Mr Gorbachev's reforms—the crackdown on alcohol. [passage omitted] The nationalities question is the most serious test for Mr Gorbachev. In Armenia, crowds have demonstrated for the enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh to be returned to the Armenian Republic. So far Moscow hasn't agreed, and the demonstrations continue. It's a consequence of glasnost that grievances long buried come to the surface.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA Political Editor Fedor Burlatskiy, identified by caption, speaking in Russian with superimposed English translation] The nationalities question is perhaps one of the most acute in our country because, after all, we have more than 100 nationalities in the USSR and because, throughout the entire Stalin period and the period which came after to some extent, they simply pretended that there were no such nationality problems. Now under glasnost and great democratization, every nationality is invited to express itself, to declare its problems, even the most acute ones. Of course, there's no doubt that events such as happened in Nagorno-Karabakh were so much grist to the conservative mill. The conservatives simply turned around and said: Just look at what the policies have led to—to severe conflicts between different nationalities. And of course the conservatives exploit this fact. [passage omitted]

[Falin] There are two types of people who are unhappy with glasnost and perestroyka: those who consider our previous development as ideal and who perceive perestroyka to be a threat which deprives them of actual power. Not a single one of them would say that they are struggling for their position when they speak out against perestroyka. They will say that they are in favor of perestroyka. They will say that they are in favor of perestroyka, but they're only in favor of the kind of perestroyka which allows them to keep their jobs.

[Hewitt] Mr Gorbachev's battle to reform the party will come to a head at an extraordinary party conference to be held next month: at issue, the future of perestroyka. Mr Gorbachev has concluded that the role of the party has to be reduced if his reforms are to work. This can only be done by breaking the stranglehold of officials holding jobs for life. The immediate battle for Mr Gorbachev is in the choice of delegates, and there's growing evidence that some regional parties are blocking candidates who favor reform. For before the conference will be placed the most radical agenda the party has ever discussed.

[Falin] We expect that the significance of what will take place at this party conference is comparable to the most major events in the history of the Soviet Union after 1917. Perestroyka includes and assumes the democratization of the party itself, particularly the replacement of the whole party leadership at certain periods. It includes the election, moreover, by secret ballot of all the party secretaries, including the general secretary of the party. It includes accountability and, most importantly, the party must not govern the state.

[Hewitt] Outside the party, there are those who would take democracy even further. [passage omitted]

The conservatives don't like the new freedoms, the rewriting of history, and the challenges to the position of the party. They believe the traditions of Communism are being discarded. With their allies in the bureaucracies they remain a formidable opposition that could yet defeat Mr Gorbachev's revolution.

Do you think that democracy and openness can prevail here?

[Falin] I would certainly hope so, but I am afraid that I cannot state it with absolute certainty.

[Hewitt] Can perestroyka be reversed?

[Afansayev] I don't think anybody can answer that question because we just don't know at the moment. But all I can say is that there is no alternative to perestroyka. If perestroyka is reversed, it will be a catastrophe, and I don't think it will only be a catastrophe for the Soviet Union. It will be a catastrophe for everyone else as well.

[Korotich] You see, if they'll defeat reforms, it'll be not my own tragedy, and even not Gorbachev tragedy. It will be tragedy of the system. I think that those reforms, that's only way to help this system to survive and to be stronger. And if they'll win, it'll be not victory, it'll be beginning of terrible defeat. It'll be beginning of dangerous future because if they'll win, those who are against reform, it'll be the same. We'll be surrounded by enemies, we'll have enemies in our country, we'll have internal and external enemies. We'll have the same atmosphere of hatred we try to defeat now.

[Hewitt] On the outcome of his revolution, Mr Gorbachev believes, rests the fate of socialism. He has spelled out the consequences of failure: economic stagnation, a loss of international prestige, and a retreat into the past. Failure would also risk the alienation of the generation that has come to political awareness during the Gorbachev years. [passage omitted]

For what started out as a program to reform the economy has ended up as a debate about the future of socialism. For the first time in 70 years, the Soviet Union is asking itself: What has gone wrong? And who is to blame?

Mr Gorbachev has launched a revolution, but it remains true that the most dangerous time for an authoritarian regime is when it begins to reform itself.

PRAVDA Reviews Documentary on Stalin Era

PM2505103788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 May 88 Second Edition p 6

[L. Pavlyuchik review under the rubric: "Yesterday on the Television Screen": "2 Hours and an Age.... Notes on the Movie 'The Process'"]

[Text] "Stalinism is a curse hanging over our people and canceling out the work of one generation after another. I believe we...must pluck up the courage and sever and gnaw through the umbilical cord linking us with the retreat from Leninism, starting in the thirties."

The documentary movie "The Process" ends with these words by one of the heroes—words full of suffering and tempered by bitterness, pain, and hope. But it begins with the unfading "Warsaw Girl," sung by veterans and with a newsreel of turbulent events taking us back to the summer before the storm of 1917 and then on to the October days that shook the whole world.

Between these two points—the birth of the new socialist state, the first in human history, and today's difficult and sometimes bitter interpretation of the lessons of the past and the roads we have traveled over 70 years—there lies the span of this movie, filled with arguments, thoughts, and the author's searching idea that there is a true socialism not muddied by dogmatic sediment, that there is democracy the way it is understood today, that there is historical truth....

To the filmakers' credit (scriptwriters I. Belyayev, A. Tsank, A. Vlasov, and A. Gromov, and director I. Belyayev), they do not impose ready-made answers, but seek them together with us in the very midst of life—in city squares and student auditoriums, in echoing lecture halls and in the quiet of academic studies, along country roads in Smolensk Oblast and on theater stages.... You feel that the director is interested in the very process of how collective search, comprehension, and attainment of the truth takes shape from contradictory opinions—sometimes confused, sometimes naive, sometimes bitter, sometimes cheerfully converging opinions.... As a result, the movie showed the complex, dynamic state of our public self-awareness, which seeks new paths and new concepts of the past and the future. It truthfully reflected the passion of the old Bolsheviks reviving Lenin's most important behests in their truly priceless memoirs, the terrible truth of the evidence of those who were illegally repressed in the thirties and forties, the confusion of certain present-day historians who have proved unready to explain the past, the worthy position of the best writers, who have shown themselves to be very sensitive seismographs of social shocks, and the newborn faith in the greatness of our ideals among young people, who only recently entered upon life in a sticky, slimy atmosphere of half-truths and even overt lies, but are now beginning to find stable, firm ground under their feet....

However, things are probably not so simple with this new road, on which young people must embark, if even the wisest and most conscientious of us are still sometimes only groping for it ourselves.... "We still do not even know, or at any rate I do not know," the writer D.A. Granin says in the movie, agonizing his way through thoughts that come with difficulty, "how to reach this closed and very, you know, misdirected...and slandered...road to the good that must be in a person. How to reach it? How to arouse this energy of good in a person? How to arouse his conscience?"

The authors of "The Process" asked themselves and us all these questions which trouble and torment the writer. And the first point with which they begin is an account of those mistaken and false roads, of which there were many in our society in the past. Dissecting the age of the Stalin personality cult, the movie ruthlessly shows how the cancer of suspicion, spy mania, flagrant lawlessness, and flouting of the most important democratic principles struck the huge body of our country in the thirties and caused colossal and still unrepaired harm to the cause of building the new society. The costs of forced collectivization, which led, according to Academician V.A. Tikhonov of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, to the liquidation of approximately 3 million middle peasant households, which is causing problems in the food sector even today; the notorious trials over the "case of the industrial party," which drained the embryonic Soviet technical intelligentsia of blood; the repression in the Army, which carried off approximately 40,000 commanders in 1937-38 alone; the reprisal against the so-called right-wing Trotskiyite opposition, whose ranks embraced many honest Communists, including N.I. Bukharin—these are just some of the tragic pages of our history revived by the movie.

Can we really listen to these facts with indifference today and not recognize them as another indictment of Stalinism?

The layers of meaning in the movie's title are revealed as the film unfolds. One meaning of the word "process" is interpreted as "developing disease." After showing the disease, its causes and roots, and explaining how, instead of becoming a system of broad people's power and self-government, the dictatorship of the proletariat became the dictatorship of Stalin's personal power, the movie's writers also recall the second meaning of the word "process": a court case. Yes, the 2 hours of screen time became a judgment—a judgment of glasnost, a judgment of justice, a judgment of our conscience on the somber age of the cult, and the perversions and distortions of Leninism, for which there must be no room in our life. According to the writers of the movie, we will not be able to advance further unless we overcome this grave legacy.

And it is only to be regretted that, in concentrating their efforts on asserting the ideas of restructuring, they have left on the periphery of the movie or even right out of the picture the opponents and adversaries of the wholesome processes taking place in the country. This deprived the movie of the "nerve" of its discussion, and the proper dramatic effect characteristic of our time. One may also complain that the movie sometimes merely repeats, as it were, and adds to what we already know from the avalanche of articles prompted by N. Andreyeva's notorious piece.

However, that last rebuke would not be very proper, for it has come to light that as long ago as 17 September last year, work was stopped on the movie, which was almost finished, and was being made for the anniversary of Great October. The director was also taken off the project. The braking forces, which are so underestimated

by us all, including the authors of "The Process," found an opportunity to hold up work on the movie, which, had it appeared just 2 months ago, could have been a pioneering film, giving a boost to the democratization of our life. But today, I repeat, the movie sometimes says things we already know. One may grieve over this, but one may also be glad, since in recent months, our society has traveled such a swift path of true democratism that even a sharp, bold, and once banned movie has had time to lose its burning, polemical novelty. Is this not a blessing? I am sure the authors of this important and necessary movie would also agree....

Facsimile Edition of MOSCOW NEWS Launched

LD2405182188 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 24 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The facsimile edition of the MOSCOW NEWS'87 newspaper was launched at a news conference in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center here today.

The Soviet Union's first issue of this kind, published by NOVOSTI press agency in Russian and English, it features stories on the more important events of the past year.

These included, among others, celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the signature of the INF Treaty, and first steps to realize radical economic reform in the Soviet Union.

"The moment we find ourselves at is unique in that political developments move by far more quickly than journalists can in their work," MOSCOW NEWS editor-in-chief Yegor Yakovlev said at the news conference.

He stressed that one of his weekly paper's operating principles is that there are no off-limits subjects and that this view is held by all the MOSCOW NEWS staff, and not only by the editor-in-chief.

Economic

News Conference Held on 'Radical' Reform

LD2505205088 Moscow TASS in English 1444 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"Indices of the Soviet Union's economic development for the past two years have improved as a result of the reorganization of the economic mechanism", Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Institute of Economy of the World Socialist System, has said. He took part today in a press conference on a radical economic reform in the USSR and the reorganization of foreign economic relations of the Soviet Union.

Academician Bogomolov pointed out that "Soviet economy is getting out of the pre-crisis state. However, drastic measures are needed for making it more healthy and dynamic".

In his opinion, "in the sphere of economy we have not felt yet the results of perestroyka the way they are felt, say, in the sphere of public consciousness". He pointed out that the situation in agriculture was perceptibly improving. Thus, the growth of agricultural output amounted to 18 per cent in the past two years as against the average annual level of the past five-year-plan period. The average annual increment of grain output reached 30 million tons. The figure for meat output is 2.1 million tons.

Oleg Bogomolov called the attention of journalists to the fact that the redistribution of the budget and state resources towards meeting the social demands of the population was taking place in the USSR. The headway in housing construction in especially impressive: 2.3 million flats were built last year — 200,000 up against the level of the previous year.

Academician Bogomolov said that laws in the sphere of economy were being actively developed and adopted for the purpose of ensuring legislative support for perestroyka. Thus, the Law on the State Enterprise (Amalgamation) came into force this year. Another law of major importance, the Law on Cooperation, is to be adopted at the current session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Ivanov Cites Trade Plans

LD2505215188 Moscow TASS in English 1900 GMT 25 May 88

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—"With the improvement of the international climate interest is growing in trade and the Soviet Union develops trade proceeding from the new political thinking and the country's economic interests", stated Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State External Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers.

He spoke today at a press conference devoted to the radical economic reform in the USSR and the restructuring of the USSR's external economic ties.

The export quota in the Soviet Union's national income now amounts to six per cent, he said. The volume of the country's external economic ties is to be doubled by the year 2000 and the structure of export will be drastically transformed.

Along with trade the USSR is beginning to use other forms of external economic ties as well, Ivanov went on. Thus, agreements have been concluded with socialist countries on direct ties of enterprises. Another novelty is the creation with foreign partners of joint enterprises on Soviet territory. There are already 46 such enterprises and up to 500 projects are under consideration. The total sum of capital investments in these enterprises amounts to about 230 million roubles, a third being made up by

contributions by foreign partners. "We have also proposed to conclude an economic agreement between the CMEA and the EEC concerning trade and cooperation in the field of investment, technology, finance and industry", Ivan Ivanov said.

Touching on Soviet-American economic ties Ivan Ivanov said that "trade so far is lagging behind the dynamics of the political process". He also said that trade turnover had been declining since 1984. He also said that since this trade lacked balance it needed a new model of economic relations which would take greater account of the potential of the two countries and new forms of business ties.

Agricultural

Media Report 19-25 May Agricultural Developments

LD2605053388 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 19-25 May. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

19 May

Sowing of corn in Kharkov Oblast is being completed. (0100)

Kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Kazakhstan have started sowing spring crops on the 8 millionth hectare. Kazakhstan farmers are turning more attention to the sowing of grain crops. Almost 1 million hectares have been allocated to millet, buckwheat, and rice. The spring sowing in Kazakhstan is being carried out in complex conditions. The temperature is fluctuating and it is frequently raining. (1500)

20 May

Sowing of grain crops is under way in Omsk Oblast. To date one-third of the planned spring acreage has been sown. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are busy working with the main food crop: wheat. The daily addition to the intensively farmed acreage is 120,000 hectares. (0600)

21 May

A good harvest is expected on the entire bread grain acreage in Uzbekistan. Let us recall that over 700,000 hectares have been set aside for grain and cereal crops in Uzbekistan. (0600)

22 May

No fileworthy items monitored.

23 May

Many of the nation's grain growing areas are only just completing the sowing campaign while the southern regions of Uzbekistan in Central Asia have already begun harvesting. Specialists say the harvest is good. (Moscow World Service in English 1500)

24 May

Spring this year had variable weather, but farmers have on the whole completed their sowing work well. It was done in a more organized way even than last year, which was a record for Belorussia. Area sown to buckwheat has been increased significantly. A good yield is promised by new strains: Minchanka, Iskra, Chernoplodnaya, bred by Belorussian breeders. They are (?uniform) and resistant to flattening. (1330)

Harvesting has started in Turkmenia. The first hundreds of tonnes of grain have arrived from farms in the Kopet-Dag Plain. (1500)

Spring sowing has been completed in Tataria. Rye, peas, barley, and other crops have been sown in good time. Rape has been sown on a large area, 200,000 hectares, for the first time. Elite seeds will be grown on one-fifth of this area. (1500)

25 May

A specialized dock for receiving grain has been built at Krasnovodsk. It has a capacity of up to 30,000 tonnes of grain per month. Dock workers helped to build it, making use of the quiet period when navigation was closed on the Astrakhan-Krasnovodsk route. (1300)

Spring Crop Progress, Summer Plans Noted

LD2605053688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 26 May 88

[Text] The USSR state statistics committee reports that as the last 10 days of May approach, spring crops occupy over half the allocated area on the country's fields. Cotton sowing has ended and the sowing of sugar beet and other industrial crops is under way. Corn has been sown on 11 million hectares of the 20 million planned. Tending of the sown areas is spreading over the farms and harvesting of winter bread grain has begun in some areas in the south.

Summertime is not just a time of concern for the harvest, it is also a time when much can be done to put the fields in order, to increase fertility, to revive and protect nature, and to ensure future fruitful harvests.

Military

Gromyko Congratulates Awards Recipients

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[TASS report: "Awards for the Heroes"]

[Text] On 21 May in the Kremlin A.A. Gromyko presented Orders of Lenin and "Gold Star" medals to a group of people on whom awards had been conferred for successfully carrying out the assignment to give international assistance to the Republic of Afghanistan and for displaying courage and heroism in doing so. They were all given the title Hero of the Soviet Union.

The awards were received by Captain Ya.P. Goroshko, Major General P.S. Grachev, Sergeant N.I. Kremenish, Sergeant Yu.N. Mirolyubov, and Junior Sergeant V.P. Sinitskiy.

Addressing the award recipients, A.A. Gromyko said:

Dear Comrades!

Today soldiers stand as if on parade in this ceremonial Kremlin hall. Two of them—an officer and a general—are on active service. Three were only recently released into the reserve.

You, our dear soldiers, are representatives of the glorious Soviet Armed Forces. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Soviet Government, I cordially congratulate you on being given the title Hero of the Soviet Union and on receiving the awards.

You have been presented with the awards at a time when the withdrawal of the contingent of Soviet forces has begun and our soldiers are returning home, having honorably and courageously carried out their duty. The homeland highly appreciates your exploits carried out for the sake of peace.

Henceforth the Gold Star of Hero of the Soviet Union and the Order of Lenin will adorn the chest of Captain Yaroslav Pavlovich Goroshko. He is a resolute and enterprising commander. His qualities are efficiency, a high standard of professional training, and an ability to conduct battles coolly and purposefully and to lead troops. He displayed all these qualities in the mountains and valleys of Afghanistan. Victory has always been the prize for this soldier in his military activity.

Major General Pavel Sergeyevich Grachev—commander of a guards airborne assault division—is made Hero of the Soviet Union. He is a member of the new generation of Soviet generals. He knows the Great Patriotic War not only from books and movies, but from the study of battles from the Volga to Berlin. Having mastered modern military theory, he skillfully applies it in military practice. Under his leadership the Soviet heroes launched assaults over mountain ranges and glaciers and acted boldly and courageously. This had the maxiumum effect with the minimum losses and led to victory.

Sergeant Nikolay Ivanovich Kremenish showed himself to be an experienced soldier, a man of extraordinary courage. He spent nearly all his active army service in fraternal Afghanistan. The sappers' battalion in which he was a company deputy commander was engaged not only in mine-clearing operations. The sergeant was personally involved in many combat operations. In one battle he unhesitatingly used his own body to shield his commander, thus saving his life. In such cases heroes need a miracle to stay alive. But there was a miracle. Nikolay Ivanovich Kremenish, the hero, stands among us.

Yuriy Nikolayevich Mirolyubov, a sergeant and senior armored transporter driver, also distinguished himself. The "Gold Star" medal and Order of Lenin are now added to the "For Valor" and "For Combat Services" medals which he was awarded for bravery on the battlefield. More than once he stared death in the face and was wounded and suffered from a concussion. In one battle Yuriy Nikolayevich Mirolyubov took over from a machinegunner who had been put out of action and thereby influenced the outcome of the battle, which resulted in victory. There you have the Soviet soldier, who always comes to the aid of his comrades.

Junior Sergeant Viktor Pavlovich Sinitskiy is a driver. He is 20, but he has had a tough and heroic military career: He has hit mines several times, suffered four concussions, and on three occasions has repaired a damaged vehicle in battle conditions. He has always displayed self-possession, coolness, and will for victory—in fact, the qualities which give the homeland grounds for calling him Hero of the Soviet Union.

Dear Comrades! You are all young people—from sergeant to general—aged between 20 and 40. It can confidently be said that you have all your lives ahead of you.

We are living at the moment in the remarkable period of great restructuring. It will certainly be given new momentum by the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, for which the whole party and the whole people are preparing.

Allow me once again to congratulate you on the important homeland awards. It gives me special pleasure to convey to you congratulations from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

I wish you and those close to you good health, happiness, and success. I wish you new accomplishments in military and civilian affairs!

Applause followed A.A. Gromyko's speech.

The award recipients expressed cordial gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Soviet Government for the high assessment of their military labor.

The presentation ceremony was attended by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Murakhovskiy Attends Delegate Election Plenum

PM2405133788 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 May 88 p 1

[TASS report under the rubric "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Trust in Those Who Deserve It"]

[Text] A person's specific deeds determine his position regarding restructuring. The participants of an Altay CPSU Kraykom plenum in Barnaul which elected delegates to the 19th all-union party conference proceeded from this premise.

Out of almost 200 candidates put forward the day before by party organizations with the participation of the kray's labor collectives, 50 of the most deserving were selected. The following were among them—V. Babushkin, mechanic at the "Pribrezhnyy" Sovkhoz; M. Lazakovich, spinner at the Barnaul Cotton Science and Production Association; A. Makshantsev, engineer at the locomotive depot at Barnaul station; A. Yalchinov, herdsman at Gorno-Altaysk's "Tenginskiy" Sovkhoz, and others.

V.S Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, spoke at the plenum.

Alma-Ata Hospital To Treat War Casualties

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[Interview with A.A. Baranov, USSR deputy minister of health, by TASS correspondent V. Zadera in Moscow under the rubric "Reporting Details": "Care for Veterans"; date not given—first two paragraphs are unattributed introduction]

[Text] The Soviet Peace Fund, the USSR Ministry of Health, and the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers have decided to construct a hospital in Alma-Ata for veterans of the Great Patriotic War and for internationalist soldiers. It will be funded by the voluntary donations made by Soviet people to the Peace Fund.

The TASS correspondent asked A.A. Baranov, USSR deputy minister of health, to comment on this report:

"At the present time there are around 1.3 million war invalids in the country. Some 457 out of every thousand invalids need hospital treatment. Some 93 percent of the total regularly go through comprehensive medical checks, and 75 percent are covered by outpatient treatment. Inpatient treatment is available at 73 hospitals and 112 special departments providing a total of only 24,400 beds.

The quality of treatment is traditionally high in these establishments—the majority of them were set up back in the war years on the basis of institutes, are staffed by highly qualified doctors, and have priority in supplies of medicinal preparations. The expenditure norms for medical supplies and food at the hospitals were increased from 1 January this year.

But a survey of the hospitals' material-technical base has revealed that 61 percent of them are accommodated in buildings which do not meet modern demands, one-third lack a hot water supply, and 13 percent do not have a sewer system. In a number of republics, including the Kazakh SSR, the norms governing floorspace per bed are not followed.

Seven hospital buildings were commissioned in 1987, and 13 hospitals for war invalids and veterans are now under construction: in Krasnoyarsk, Volgograd, Yoshkar-Ola, Khmelnitskiy, and other cities. The estimated cost of construction is between R800,000 and R5.2 million.

The choice of Alma-Ata as the place for constructing the hospital was dictated to a significant degree by the fact that the existing old hospital building in the city was damaged during the recent landslide disaster. The Soviet Peace Fund is allocating R12 million for the construction of the complex. It will include a polyclinic and a hospital block properly equipped with the latest technology and equipment. Alma-Ata's "Giproniizdrav" Institute has started drawing up the design estimate documents and will complete this work this year. We will not be putting up with long delays on this project.

The construction of the hospital is yet one more manifestation of concern for the war veterans and internationalist soldiers who have discharged their duty to the motherland with honor. At present the USSR Ministry of Health in conjunction with the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee, the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, the AUCCTU, and the Soviet Peace Fund is examining the question of constructing a special rehabilitation center for internationalist soldiers.

Yefimov, Others Sign Yumashev's Obituary

PM2505140188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 88 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of A.B. Yumashev]

[Excerpts] Hero of the Soviet Union Major General of Aviation Andrey Borisovich Yumashev, retired, participant in the civil war and the Great Patriotic War, has died after a long and serious illness.

He devoted his entire conscious life to selflessly serving the socialist motherland, the Soviet people, and the cause of the Communist Party, whose ranks he joined in 1941.

A.B. Yumashev was born into an employee's family in Leningrad in 1902. [passage omitted]

In the postwar period, fulfilling the duties of chief of a directorate of the Air Force Combat Training Main Directorate, he made a significant contribution to the cause of enhancing the combat readiness of Air Force units and formations. He was always distinguished by great diligence, energy, and a feeling for what is new. [passage omitted]

[Signed] A.N. Yefimov, A.N. Soshnikov, L.L. Batekhin, B.F. Korolkov, V.Ye. Pankin, A.F. Borsuk, N.G. Shishkov, V.M. Shishkin, A.N. Zakrevskiy, A.S. Goryainov, V.V. Yefanov, G.F. Baydukov, V.V. Reshetnikov, A.A. Tupolev, V.S. Grizodubova.